

TRAVAIL ET LOISIR EN GRÈCE ANCIENNE

À PROPOS DE LA COMPLÉMENTARITÉ DES ACTIVITÉS DU CITOYEN*

Abstract: Le présent article étudie les multiples fonctions du travail et du repos en Grèce ancienne, notamment à Athènes. Plutôt qu'un aperçu des conceptions des Grecs au sujet du travail et du loisir, l'étude s'entend comme un essai d'analyse globale de la valeur des activités économiques et de celles du loisir dans leur interdépendance. Les sources littéraires, choisies au sein de plusieurs genres et commentées tout au long de l'article, suggèrent que les Anciens ne concevaient pas le travail et le loisir en termes d'opposition. S'il est évident que le travail et son interruption jouaient un rôle fondamental dans la vie individuelle et sociale des Grecs, c'est précisément l'alternance du travail (principalement privé) et du repos (principalement vécu en commun) qui garantissait l'épanouissement des individus ainsi que la stabilité de la communauté civile et religieuse. En effet, les rapports entre le travail et l'interruption de la routine quotidienne s'avèrent beaucoup plus complexes que l'on pourrait le croire de prime abord: le travail et le loisir n'étaient pas deux modes de vie opposés, mais bien plutôt des activités complémentaires pour le citoyen grec et des composantes essentielles de son existence.

REMARQUES PRÉLIMINAIRES

Le travail dans l'Antiquité est souvent étudié sous un angle économique et social. Nous connaissons assez bien les conditions de travail dans les différents secteurs et métiers; nombreuses sont, notamment, les études

* Cet article est la version remaniée d'une conférence que j'ai faite à l'Université de Nice — Sophia Antipolis et à l'Université de Thessalie (Volos), respectivement le 6 décembre 2005 et le 21 janvier 2006, sous les titres respectifs *Travailler ou ne pas travailler, était-ce la question en Grèce ancienne?* et *Εργασία και ανάπαυλα στην αρχαία Αθήνα: μορφές δραστηριοτήτων του πολίτη* («Travail et repos en Athènes ancienne: formes d'activité du citoyen»). Comme la communication grecque présentée à Volos s'inscrivait dans un colloque interdisciplinaire sur le travail et le repos d'Hésiode à nos jours, la teneur en était nécessairement différente par rapport à la conférence niçoise. Aussi le présent texte reprend-il l'essentiel des deux conférences, tout en tenant compte des remarques dont les deux auditoires ont bien voulu me faire part. Une autre intervention rédactionnelle par rapport aux textes des conférences concerne le caractère oral que j'ai essayé d'aplanir pour cette publication, peut-être sans y réussir complètement. Enfin, des références bibliographiques devraient permettre au lecteur d'approfondir les questions traitées.

sur l'esclavage en Grèce ancienne et à Rome¹. D'autre part, les multiples activités auxquelles s'adonnaient les Grecs et les Romains dans leur loisir sont bien illustrées, elles aussi, par les sources littéraires, archéologiques et iconographiques².

Cependant, quelles fonctions et quel sens avait pour les Anciens l'alternance du travail et du repos? Concevaient-ils les activités économiques et celles du loisir en termes d'opposition? Quelle valeur accordaient-ils à ces activités? Cet article se fixe pour objectif de répondre, ne serait-ce que partiellement, à ces questions, à travers un choix de textes grecs appartenant à plusieurs genres et témoignant de la complexité des points de vue des Grecs au sujet du rôle du travail dans leur vie individuelle et sociale. Il s'agira, plus particulièrement, de comprendre l'interdépendance du travail et du repos en vue de l'accomplissement des individus ainsi que

¹ Citons quelques monographies à titre d'exemple (tant pour la Grèce que pour Rome): K.R. BRADLEY, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire. A Study in Social Control* (Collection Latomus, 185), Bruxelles 1984; ID., *Slavery and Society at Rome (Key Themes in Ancient History)*, Cambridge 1994; N. BROCKMEYER, *Antike Sklaverei* (Erträge der Forschung, 116), Darmstadt 1979; sept contributions dans P. BRULÉ – J. OULHEN (dirs), *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne. Hommages à Yvon Garlan* (Histoire), Rennes 1997, p. 17-119; Y. GARLAN, *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne*, nouvelle édition revue et complétée (Textes à l'appui, Histoire classique), Paris 1995; P. GARNSEY, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, Cambridge 1996 [trad. française par A. Hasnaoui, *Conceptions de l'esclavage d'Aristote à saint Augustin* (Histoire), Paris 2004]; P. GUYOT, *Einmühen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik, 14), Stuttgart 1980; Francesca REDUZZI MEROLA – Alfredina STORCHI MARINO (dirs), *Femmes-Esclaves. Modèles d'interprétation anthropologique, économique, juridique* [Atti del XXI colloquio internazionale Girea, Lacco Ameno-Ischia, 27-29 ottobre 1994] (*Diáphora*, 9), Naples 1999. La thématique de l'esclavage est insérée dans la perspective plus globale des conditions de vie et de travail marquées par l'absence de liberté dans la nouvelle série *Sklaverei – Knechtschaft – Zwangsarbeit. Untersuchungen zur Sozial-, Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte*, dont le premier volume, paru récemment sous la direction d'Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto qui assure aussi la direction de la série (*Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Eine Einführung*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2005), intéresse aussi nos propos. Enfin, il convient de citer une collection importante d'études sur l'esclavage ancien: *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, publiées aujourd'hui sous la direction de Heinz Heinen pour la Kommission für Geschichte des Altertums der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (depuis 1967; à ce jour, 36 volumes et quatre suppléments en plusieurs tomes sont disponibles; voir le plan des différentes parties du projet chez H. HEINEN, *Das Mainzer Akademieprojekt "Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei": Geschichte und Bilanz, Perspektiven und Desiderate*, dans Elisabeth HERRMANN-OTTO (dir.), *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse*, p. 371-394, ici p. 388-394).

² Pour la notion du loisir en Grèce ancienne, on peut se reporter à P. DEMONT, *La cité grecque archaïque et classique et l'idéal de tranquillité* (Collection d'Études Anciennes, Série grecque, 118), Paris 1990, ainsi qu'au livre d'orientation plutôt historique que philologique de L.B. CARTER, *The Quiet Athenian*, Oxford 1986.

de la stabilité de la communauté civile et religieuse. Les rapports entre le travail et l'interruption de la routine quotidienne s'avèreront alors beaucoup plus complexes que l'on pourrait le croire de prime abord. En fait, le travail et le repos ne sont pas tellement des modes de vie opposés, mais bien plutôt des activités complémentaires pour le citoyen grec³.

A. L'ÉVALUATION DU TRAVAIL DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ GRECQUE

L'appréciation du travail par les Grecs eux-mêmes n'était pas univoque. En effet, dès *Les Travaux et les Jours* d'Hésiode nous trouvons deux points de vue apparemment contradictoires, qui — par le caractère sacré d'un texte qui allait faire office de poème didactique aux allures d'un manuel d'agriculture, mais encore davantage de référence incontestable en matière d'éthique du travail — seront pérennisés pendant de longs siècles. Comme dans d'autres civilisations, le travail fut perçu tantôt comme accomplissement de l'individu tantôt comme malédiction.

A.1. LE TRAVAIL COMME SYMBOLE DE LA LIBERTÉ INDIVIDUELLE ET DE L'AUTARCIE DU FOYER

Il importe de constater d'abord que le travail, en tant qu'activité économique et de production, appartient à ce que les Grecs appelaient οἰκονομία, c'est-à-dire la gestion des affaires de l'οἶκος, du foyer. Avant d'être une activité sociale qui fait entrer le citoyen dans le corps social de ses égaux, le travail est donc essentiellement une activité individuelle et familiale. Le but de l'économie, en tant que science (ἐπιστήμη, comme le dit Xénophon dans son *Économique*, 1.1), sera donc de bien gérer son propre foyer, selon une première définition proposée par Critobule (εἶ οἰκεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον), qui sera ensuite élargie par Socrate (Xén., *Écon.* 1.2). Dans la pratique, ceci consiste à augmenter les ressources du foyer, selon une formule récurrente de l'*Économique* (αὖξεν

³ Les individus dont les activités et les attitudes seront analysées au cours de cette contribution sont en principe des citoyens athéniens (donc mâles, adultes et libres) de l'époque classique, même si j'aurai recours à des textes antérieurs (notamment Hésiode) et, de temps en temps, postérieurs aux 5^{ème} et 4^{ème} siècles pour étayer mes thèses. Ceci n'est, à mon sens, pas illégitime, dans la mesure où des attitudes et des convictions furent véhiculées et transmises tout au long de l'Antiquité par des textes littéraires et leur enseignement, du moins dans les classes sociales dominantes.

τὸν οἶκον)⁴. Ceux qui suivent cette éthique du travail, en seront récompensés, car l'autarcie de leur famille en sera assurée en même temps que leur qualité d'hommes libres s'en trouvera affirmée. En corrélation avec cette perspective sur le travail, la littérature grecque nous a laissé de nombreux passages qui condamnent nettement la paresse.

A.1.1. La valeur et l'importance du travail en vue de l'autarcie

C'est dans ce contexte que l'on peut comprendre le discours que tient Pénia, la personnification de la pauvreté, dans le *Ploutos* d'Aristophane. Lorsque deux Athéniens, Chrémyle et Blepsidème, se proposent de libérer le dieu de la richesse, Pénia s'y oppose en faisant valoir les bienfaits qu'elle apporte aux hommes. C'est, dit-elle, par la contrainte de la pauvreté que les hommes travaillent et procurent ainsi à eux-mêmes et aux leurs tout ce dont ils ont besoin.

Voici un extrait du discours de Pénia (vers 510-516)⁵:

Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Πλοῦτος βλέψει πάλιν διανείμειν τ' ἴσον αὐτόν,
οὔτε τέχνην ἂν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ἂν σοφίαν μελετῶη
οὔδεις· ἀμφοῖν δ' ὑμῖν τούτοις ἀφανισθέντοις ἐβελήσει
τίς χαλκεύειν ἢ ναυπηγεῖν ἢ ράπτειν ἢ τροχοποιεῖν,
ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν ἢ πλινθουργεῖν ἢ πλύνειν ἢ σκυλοδεψεῖν,
ἢ γῆς ἀρότροις ῥήξας δάπεδον καρπὸν Διὸς θερίσασθαι,
ἢν ἐξῇ ζῆν ἀργοῖς ὑμῖν τούτων πάντων ἀμελοῦσιν;

L'énumération des métiers dans la longue série d'infinitifs (différents arts, mais aussi, dans le vers 515, l'agriculture) s'élève ici à l'éloge du travail sous toutes ses formes, alors que l'oisiveté est associée à l'insouciance dans une tournure clairement péjorative (vers 516).

À l'opposé des effets néfastes de l'instauration, par Ploutos, d'un pays de cocagne qui n'en serait pas un, Pénia met en lumière la facilité (εὐπορα, vers 532) avec laquelle sa douce pression mène les gens à couvrir leurs besoins par le travail de leurs mains.

⁴ Xén., *Écon.* 1.4, puis, avec des variantes, 1.16, 3.10, 6.4, 9.12.

⁵ En voici la traduction par H. Van Daele (1930) dans la *Collection des Universités de France*, d'où presque toutes les traductions seront tirées: «Car si Ploutos recouvrait la vue et se partageait entre tous également, il n'y aurait plus ni art chez les hommes ni industrie exercée par personne: ces deux choses par vous une fois abolies, qui voudra être forgeron, construire des vaisseaux, coudre, être charron, cordonnier, briquetier, blanchisseur, tanneur? Qui voudra, du sol avec le soc briser la croûte dure pour récolter les fruits que Déo nous procure, s'il vous est permis de vivre oisifs sans vous soucier de tout cela?»

Παρ' ἐμοῦ δ' ἐστὶν ταῦτ' εὖπορα πάνθ' ὑμῖν ὧν δεῖσθον·
ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν χειροτέχνην ὥσπερ δέσποιν' ἐπαναγκάζουσα κάθη-
μαι
διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν πενίαν ζητεῖν ὁπόθεν βίον ἔξει.

(Aristoph., *Plout.* 532-534)⁶

L'autarcie assurée par le travail est ensuite démarquée de la pauvreté misérable qui s'apparente de la vie de mendiant.

Πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἐστιν μηδὲν ἔχοντα·
τοῦ δὲ πένητος ζῆν φειδόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχοντα,
περιγίγνεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ μηδὲν, μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐπιλείπειν.

(Aristoph., *Plout.* 552-554)⁷

Par l'emploi de la double négation au vers 554 (μὴ μηδ'), la pensée à un manque qui résulterait de la pauvreté relative est rejetée catégoriquement et l'idée d'autarcie est renforcée. Cependant, la particule μέντοι oppose honnêtement cette condition d'humbles revenus à une vie d'abondance, de même que les vers 552-553 distinguent une pauvreté absolue (πτωχοῦ βίος) et une pauvreté relative (τοῦ πένητος [*scil.* βίος]), qui est celle des hommes qui travaillent pour avoir le nécessaire⁹.

A.1.2. Condamnation de la paresse

Si les citoyens libres ont la possibilité de gérer leur foyer en travaillant, ils ont aussi l'obligation morale de le faire. En effet, à la valorisation du travail correspond la condamnation de la paresse.

Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, δεσπότης οὐκ ἔχοιεν, εἰ εὐχόμε-
νοι εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν βουλόμενοι ἀφ' ὧν <ἄν> ἔχοιεν ἀγαθὰ

⁶ «Grâce à moi, au contraire, il vous est facile d'acquérir tout ce qui vous manque; car moi, comme une maîtresse assise, je contrains l'artisan, par le besoin de l'indigence, à chercher le moyen de gagner sa vie» (trad. H. Van Daele 1930).

⁷ «La vie de mendiant dont tu parles consiste à vivre sans rien avoir; celle du pauvre, à vivre en épargnant et en s'appliquant à ses travaux; à n'avoir aucun superflu, sans toutefois manquer du nécessaire» (trad. H. Van Daele 1930).

⁸ La double négation est une négation renforcée, sauf si la dernière négation est simple (et non pas composée). Voir le bel exemple cité par E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik, auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*, 2. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik, vervollständigt und herausgegeben von Albert Debrunner (*HAW*, II 1.2), Munich 1950, p. 598: οὐδενὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς οὐδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἔχει (Plat., *Parm.* 166a2).

⁹ Pour la distinction de πτωχός et πένης (πένομαι) voir Helga SCHOLTEN, *Die Bewertung körperlicher Arbeit in der Antike*, *AncSoc* 33 (2003), p. 1-22, ici p. 2.

ἐπειτα κωλύονται ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων; Καὶ τίνες δὴ οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν; Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἀφανεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φανεροί. Καὶ ὅτι πονηρότατοί γέ εἰσιν οὐδὲ σὲ λανθάνουσιν, εἴπερ πονηρίαν γε νομίζεις ἀργίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀμέλειαν.

(Xén., *Écon.* 1.18-19)¹⁰

Dans ce passage, Socrate parle de citoyens *libres* qui ne mettent pas tout leur zèle à travailler. Du domaine économique, il passe habilement à la sphère morale, en nommant les vices de l'ἀργία, la μαλακία ψυχῆς et l'ἀμέλεια — combinaison sémantique qui nous rappelle Aristoph., *Plout.* 516 — et en les qualifiant de πονηρότατοι et πονηρία. Le mélange de ces deux domaines est indiqué d'ailleurs dès le §18, au moyen de l'ambivalence d'εὐδαιμονεῖν et d'ἀγαθά, deux termes dont la notion de bonheur, retenue dans la traduction de P. Chantraine, ne constitue que l'un des deux versants, l'autre étant la référence au succès matériel¹¹. La paresse est donc présentée ici comme un maître qui tient les hommes en esclavage, les empêche de travailler et, par là-même, d'augmenter leurs biens (ἀγαθά) et d'obtenir le bonheur (ἀγαθόν) et, dirions-nous, la satisfaction liée à la productivité et l'effort de l'homme.

Vers la fin du même traité, les paresseux sont de nouveau mis au pilori, par le biais d'une confrontation entre l'agriculture et les autres «arts» ou «métiers».

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἡ γῆ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς τῷ εὐγνώστα καὶ εὐμαθῇ πάντα παρέχειν ἄριστα ἐξετάζειν. Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας τοῖς μὴ ἐργαζομένοις ἔστι προφασίζεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστανται, γῆν δὲ πάντες οἶδασιν ὅτι εὖ πάσχουσα εὖ ποιεῖ· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν γεωργίᾳ <ἀργία> ἔστι σαφὴς ψυχῆς κατήγορος κακῆς. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο ἄνθρωπος ζῆν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐδεὶς τοῦτο αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πείθει· ὁ δὲ μήτε ἄλλην τέχνην χρηματοποιὸν ἐπιστάμενος μήτε γεωργεῖν ἐθέλων φανερόν ὅτι κλέπτων ἢ

¹⁰ «Mais comment n'auraient-ils pas de maîtres, puisque souhaitant être heureux et désirant tout faire pour obtenir le bonheur, malgré tout ils en sont empêchés par ceux qui leur commandent? — Mais qui sont-ils donc, dit Critobule, ces maîtres invisibles qui leur commandent? — Non, par Zeus, ils ne sont pas invisibles, ils sont même tout à fait visibles. Que d'ailleurs ils sont très mauvais, tu t'en aperçois bien aussi. Si toutefois tu reconnais que paresse, mollesse de l'âme et insouciance sont choses mauvaises» (trad. P. Chantraine 1949).

¹¹ Voir *LSJ*, p. 708, s.v. εὐδαιμονέω («to be prosperous, well off» en premier lieu et «to be truly happy» en second lieu) et p. 4, s.v. ἀγαθός, II, 4 (τὰ ἀγαθὰ = «goods of fortune, treasures, wealth»).

ἀρπάζων ἢ προσαιτῶν διανοεῖται βιοτεύειν, ἢ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστός ἐστι.

(Xén., *Écon.* 20.14-15)¹²

Malgré quelques incertitudes pour l'établissement du texte, le sens en est parfaitement clair. Pour le travail rural, aucun art n'est requis, sinon la volonté de travailler. Aussi la passivité dans le domaine de l'agriculture indique-t-elle celui qui ne veut pas travailler (τοὺς κακοὺς, ψυχῆς κακῆς). S'y ajoute le jugement moral inévitable: φανερόν ὅτι κλέπτων ἢ ἀρπάζων ἢ προσαιτῶν διανοεῖται βιοτεύειν, ἢ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστός ἐστι.

Bien avant Xénophon et dans un autre registre, Hésiode avait déjà blâmé ceux qui ne voulaient pas travailler.

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 311)¹³

Même si le contexte historique de ce poème est très différent de celui de la cité grecque classique que connaissait Xénophon, il s'agit dans les deux cas du travail rural et le message des deux textes est remarquablement pareil. Alarmé par les mutations de la société béotienne dans la seconde moitié du 8^{ème} et la première moitié du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et frappé personnellement par les injustices qui pouvaient s'ensuivre, Hésiode incite son frère Persès à travailler pour faire face à la pauvreté en accomplissant les travaux des champs qui représentent pour Hésiode un type de comportement religieux¹⁴: les temps ont suffisamment changé pour que l'on ne trouve plus de honte au travail manuel. Tout au contraire, dans la nouvelle société, marquée par la propriété privée et la constitution d'unités familiales (l'οἶκος de Xénophon), la nécessité fait que c'est une honte de *ne pas* travailler et un signe d'irrespect envers les dieux de ne pas exécuter les divers travaux inspirés par eux.

¹² «La terre enfin, il me semble, par toutes les indications si faciles à reconnaître et à comprendre qu'elle fournit, permet de très bien discerner les gens qui valent quelque chose et ceux qui ne valent rien. Les paresseux, en effet, ne peuvent pas, comme dans les autres arts, prétexter qu'ils n'y connaissent rien. Tous savent que la terre traite bien qui la traite bien. La paresse quand il s'agit de travailler la terre dénonce clairement une âme sans courage: comment pourrait-on vivre sans avoir le nécessaire? Personne ne peut se le faire accroire. Celui qui ne sait aucun autre métier lucratif et ne consent pas à cultiver la terre se propose évidemment de vivre de vol, de rapine, de mendicité, ou bien il est complètement fou» (trad. P. Chantraine 1949).

¹³ «Il n'y a pas d'opprobre à travailler: l'opprobre est de ne rien faire» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

¹⁴ Voir M. DETIENNE, *Crise agraire et attitude religieuse chez Hésiode* (Collection Latomus, 68), Bruxelles 1963.

La sentence d'Hésiode est reprise vers la fin du 5^{ème} siècle dans l'Oraison funèbre de Périclès que nous a livrée la plume de Thucydide¹⁵.

Τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν
ἔργῳ αἴσχιον.

(Thuc. II 40.1)¹⁶

Les variantes synonymiques ne sauraient cacher l'origine de cette phrase célèbre, qui, à son tour, a inspiré des écrivains bien postérieurs, tant dans la littérature grecque que latine¹⁷. Par la force de la tradition, l'idée selon laquelle la paresse est absolument ignominieuse paraît s'être bien installée en Grèce, comme à Rome d'ailleurs¹⁸.

A.2. DISTINCTION DE L'AGRICULTURE ET DE L'ARTISANAT

Ceci dit, toute activité économique n'était pas dotée de la même valorisation en Grèce ancienne: les Grecs privilégiaient le travail rural.

A.2.1. L'agriculture comme activité caractéristique du citoyen (libre)

Le passage de Xénophon cité plus haut (*Écon.* 1.18-19) se rapporte évidemment au travail dans les champs d'une famille. Ceux qui ne s'appli-

¹⁵ Pour la phrase citée ici comme pour l'ensemble de l'Oraison funèbre, l'analyse stylistique par I.Th. KAKRIDIS, *Der thukydideische Epitaphios. Ein stilistischer Kommentar* (Zetemata, 26), Munich 1961 (p. 47-52 pour Thuc. II 40.1) est toujours incontournable.

¹⁶ «Quant à la pauvreté, l'avouer tout haut n'est jamais une honte: c'en est une plutôt de ne pas s'employer en fait à en sortir» (trad. Jacqueline de Romilly 1962).

¹⁷ Dans mon article *Zur Intentionalität der Benutzung literarischer Quellen bei Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Klio* 87 (2005), p. 495-504, j'analyse une réminiscence de Thuc. II 40.1 chez Ammien Marcellin, *Res Gestae* XXIV 3.5, en notant en passage l'influence de Thuc. II 40.1 sur Plutarque (*De la fausse honte*, §10, 533A et *Conseils politiques*, §31, 822D-F) et Lucien (*Nigrinus* 14).

¹⁸ On sait que Cicéron a dû justifier le *cum dignitate otium* ou l'*otiosa dignitas* [voir ce programme politique dans le *Pour Sestius* 98 de février 56 av. J.-Chr. et dans les *Lettres familières* I 9.21 (lettre à P. Lentulus de décembre 54)] devant les Romains, qui étaient particulièrement soucieux de l'activité et de l'utilité de tout acte humain (sur les contraintes que cette éthique pouvait imposer à Cicéron dans une situation donnée, on peut lire mon article *La Lecture vue par Cicéron, Pro Archia, 12-16: croyances personnelles et contraintes rhétoriques*, *Latomus* 63 [2004], p. 23-30). À propos de la notion très chargée d'*otium* («loisir», «repos», «tranquillité», etc.), voir, entre autres, E. BERNERT, *Otium*, *WJA* 4 (1949/50), p. 89-99 et surtout les travaux de J.-M. ANDRÉ, *Recherches sur l'otium romain* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 52), Paris 1962 et *L'otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine des origines à l'époque augustéenne* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, 30), Paris 1966.

quent pas au travail qui leur est possible ne sont pas véritablement libres, mais ils sont des esclaves de la paresse. Il s'ensuit, *e contrario*, que les hommes libres (par leur statut civil) qui ne refusent pas de travailler la terre ou, plus précisément, *leur* terre, sont libres au sens vrai du terme, c'est-à-dire en tant qu'êtres humains régis par leur propre volonté. Aussi peut-on dire que l'activité rurale accomplit et parfait la liberté d'un citoyen libre. Ceci est exprimé d'une façon particulièrement frappante par Cicéron — que le passage provisoire au monde romain me soit pardonné par la netteté de la citation cicéronienne:

Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero dignius.

(Cic., *Les Devoirs* I 151)¹⁹

Cet éloge de l'agriculture est emphatique par l'anaphore de *nihil* (mise en relief par l'antithèse avec *omnium*) et total par la variation sémantique des comparatifs: *melius* donne d'abord la synthèse de la pensée émise, après quoi *uberius* et *dulcius* évoquent la supériorité de l'agriculture comme activité économique respectivement sur le plan de l'utilité et au niveau de l'agrément, pour faire place ensuite à une évaluation plus générale dans le mot *dignius* (donc un retour à la réflexion synthétique énoncée par *melius*). De plus, ce qui est particulièrement important dans le contexte de cette étude, Cicéron profite du régime de l'adjectif *dignus*, qui sollicite souvent un complément à l'ablatif²⁰, pour dédoubler le terme régi selon un procédé rhétorique bien connu, à savoir la gradation²¹: *nihil homine, nihil libero dignius*²². L'agriculture caractérise donc avant tout l'homme libre²³.

¹⁹ «Mais de toutes les entreprises dont on retire quelque bénéfice, rien n'est meilleur que l'agriculture, rien n'est plus productif, rien n'est plus agréable, rien n'est plus digne d'un homme et d'un homme libre» (trad. M. Testard 1965).

²⁰ Ceci est loin d'être une règle, le régime de *dignus* étant bien plus complexe (voir *TLL* V 1, col. 1142-1153, s.v. *dignus*).

²¹ On peut penser à d'autres passages de Cicéron à la formulation semblable et avançant une gradation pareille; par exemple *Pro Archia* 16 (à propos de la valeur des lettres, des études et de la lecture): *hanc animaduersionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam iudicaretis*.

²² Rien ne nous autorise à amender cette leçon des manuscrits, comme le font certains éditeurs, en *nihil homine libero dignius*.

²³ Au-delà des raisons sociales, c'était une considération politique qui fit affirmer à Cicéron la primauté de l'agriculture en automne 44: il voulut ainsi s'assurer l'appui des sénateurs, c'est-à-dire de l'aristocratie terrienne, contre Antoine (voir la note de M. Testard dans *Cicéron, Les Devoirs, Introduction, Livre I*, texte établi et traduit par M.T. [CUF], Paris 1965, p. 203-204).

À la lisière des mondes grec et romain, on pourrait citer encore le témoignage de Denys d'Halicarnasse, qui va tout à fait dans le même sens:

Δύο δὲ μόνα τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐπιτηδεύματα κατέλιπε τὰ τε κατὰ γεωργίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους.

(Den. Halic., *Antiquités Romaines* II 28.2)²⁴

Il s'agit de l'organisation sociale de la vie des Romains par Romulus, qui réserva deux activités aux citoyens, à savoir l'agriculture et la guerre, alors que l'artisanat fut imposé aux esclaves et aux étrangers. Ceci devait entraîner la perfection morale des citoyens, au dire de Denys. Les deux activités retenues pour ceux qui avaient le droit de cité étaient d'ailleurs étroitement liées entre elles dans la conception du roi: selon les circonstances (temps de paix versus temps de guerre), les mêmes hommes étaient appelés à cultiver la terre ou à faire la guerre.

Ἀτελῆ δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερον ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν βίων χωρίζομενον θατέρου καὶ φιλαίτιον, οὐχ ἑτέροις μὲν τισιν ἀπέδωκεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἑτέροις δὲ τὰ πολέμιων φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ὥς ὁ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶχε νόμος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τὸν τε πολέμικόν καὶ τὸν γεωργικὸν ἔταξε βίον ζῆν.

(Den. Halic., *Antiquités Romaines* II 28.2)²⁵

Ce refus de la spécialisation confond tous les citoyens dans le corps social et donne aussi un sens social au travail individuel, ce qui est assez remarquable vu le rôle du travail dans et pour le foyer que l'on peut observer dans d'autres textes (comme dans les passages déjà commentés de Xénophon).

A.2.2. Autonomie réduite de l'artisan

À l'opposé de l'agriculture, l'artisanat ne jouissait pas de la même appréciation, parce que cette activité semblait être en désaccord avec la liberté du citoyen²⁶.

²⁴ «Romulus ne laissa aux hommes libres que deux activités: le travail de la terre et le métier des armes» (trad. Valérie Fromentin – J. Schnäbele 1990).

²⁵ «Mais comme il estimait que pris séparément, ces métiers étaient imparfaits et susceptibles d'exciter des querelles, il ne voulut pas attribuer aux uns le soin de travailler la terre, aux autres celui de ravager les territoires ennemis — comme c'était l'usage chez les Lacédémoniens —, mais il assigna aux mêmes hommes tout à la fois une existence de paysan et de soldat» (trad. Valérie Fromentin – J. Schnäbele 1990).

²⁶ Helga SCHOLTEN, *Die Bewertung* (n. 9) (avec des éléments bibliographiques actuels dans les notes), donne un aperçu nuancé de l'évaluation du travail physique dans l'Anti-

A.2.2.1. L'appellation de l'artisan

Cela paraît déjà à travers le mot grec pour «artisan» : le δημιουργός est celui qui fait son travail (ἔργον) au milieu et au profit du peuple (δῆμος)²⁷, alors que le citoyen libre se réalise dans le contexte économique de son foyer.

A.2.2.2. La finalité des produits de l'artisan

C'est ensuite la destination même des produits de l'artisan qui permet de l'opposer à l'agriculteur : l'artisan ne contribue pas *directement* à l'autarcie de sa famille mais il produit pour des tiers. Cette situation l'apparente quelque peu aux esclaves ; en fait, sa condition n'est ni celle d'un esclave ni celle d'un homme libre.

Ὁ γὰρ βάνανσος τεχνίτης ἀφορισμένην τινὰ ἔχει δουλείαν.
(Aristot., *Politique* I 13, 1260a41-b1)²⁸

Il convient toutefois de souligner les multiples limites de nos sources : non seulement les textes qui nous sont parvenus ne sont qu'une infime partie de toute la littérature qui a existé, mais ils ne représentent que les couches sociales aisées, et notre image de la vie sociale et économique des Anciens est nécessairement faussée par la prépondérance de l'idéologie des intellectuels dont nous lisons les témoignages²⁹. Ceci est évident, entre autres, pour un Aristote.

quité païenne et chrétienne, sans pour autant distinguer assez soigneusement le travail rural et l'artisanat.

²⁷ Voir J.-P. VERNANT, *Travail et nature dans la Grèce ancienne*, dans J.-P. VERNANT – P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Travail et esclavage en Grèce ancienne (Historiques)*, 44), Paris 1985, p. 1-23, ici p. 4 : «il [scil. le terme δημιουργός] définit toutes les activités qui s'exercent en dehors du cadre de l'οἶκος, en faveur d'un public, δῆμος : les artisans — charpentiers et forgerons — les aèdes, mais non moins qu'eux les devins ou les héraults, qui ne "produisent" rien».

²⁸ «Car l'artisan de l'industrie n'a qu'une servitude limitée» (trad. J. Aubonnet 1960).

²⁹ Voir la mise en garde de M. BALME, *Attitudes to Work and Leisure in Ancient Greece*, *G&R* 31 (1984), p. 140-152, qui veut limiter le mépris de l'artisanat, voire de tout travail manuel à quelques intellectuels. Les réserves de R. LONIS, *La cité dans le monde grec. Structures, fonctionnement, contradictions (Fac, Histoire)*, Paris 2000² [1994¹], p. 134-135, vont dans le même sens. Sur ce point, on lira aussi les remarques de C. MOSSÉ, *Le travail en Grèce et à Rome (Que sais-je?, 1240)*, Paris 1966, p. 46-49, qui distingue nettement et avec juste raison le travail de la terre et le travail artisanal et qui tient compte aussi du lien de dépendance créé par le travail et des progrès de l'économie servile.

A.2.2.3. Les divinités protectrices des artisans et des agriculteurs

Signalons, enfin, que c'est le plus difforme parmi les dieux, le dieu boiteux Héphestos³⁰, qui protège les artisans, alors que les agriculteurs travaillent sous l'égide de Déméter, une dame respectable³¹.

A.3. LE TRAVAIL COMME MALÉDICTION

Parallèlement à la grande estime en laquelle les Grecs tenaient le travail, notamment le travail rural, ils ont développé un autre discours, qui paraît être contraire au premier: la vision du travail comme une malédiction.

A.3.1. La situation originelle de l'espèce humaine selon Hésiode

Pour comprendre ce discours alternatif, mais en fin de compte complémentaire du discours qui valorise l'effort de l'homme dans le travail, il faut se reporter à la conception ancienne de l'évolution des races ou des générations humaines, qui leur a fait projeter une condition humaine paradisiaque dans un passé lointain³² et admettre la dégénération progressive de l'humanité. Dans l'âge d'or³³ ou, dans les termes d'Hésiode, la race d'or, il n'y avait aucune contrainte de travailler, parce que tout était disponible aux hommes gratuitement et sans effort de leur part, par la

³⁰ Pour une analyse plus ou moins psychanalytique du personnage d'Héphestos et de son infirmité corporelle (par laquelle il aurait payé sa science et son savoir-faire), voir Marie DELCOURT, *Héphestos ou la légende du magicien (Confluents psychanalytiques)*, Paris 1982² [1957¹].

³¹ Je dois cette observation à une remarque de M. Yannis Pikoulas, professeur d'histoire ancienne (Volos), lors de la discussion au colloque de l'Université de Thessalie le 21 janvier 2006.

³² Cette projection d'un état paradisiaque dans le temps a un corrélat dans la projection d'un état idéal dans l'espace: les textes ethno-géographiques et historiques nous ont transmis une image idéalisatrice de certains peuples imaginaires ou non habitant des contrées marginales du monde connu des Grecs (et des Romains), même si le rejet des civilisations étrangères ('barbares') est aussi repérable dans les sources (voir J.S. ROMM, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, Princeton 1992).

³³ Pour la représentation de l'âge d'or dans l'Antiquité, on peut consulter, entre autres publications, K. KUBUSCH, *Aurea Saecula: Mythos und Geschichte. Untersuchung eines Motivs in der antiken Literatur bis Ovid (Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 28)*, Frankfurt am Main 1986 ainsi que R. GÜNTHER – R. MÜLLER, *Das Goldene Zeitalter. Utopien der hellenistisch-römischen Antike*, Stuttgart 1988.

générosité spontanée et «automatique» (αὐτομάτη, *Les Travaux et les Jours* 118) de la terre.

Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο
νόσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἱ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 90-92)³⁴

La référence ici est aux temps d'avant Pandora. L'adverbe πρὶν n'a qu'une valeur relative, aucune chronologie absolue n'étant envisagée: le poète oppose la situation de jadis à la situation actuelle décourageante. Le temps idéal est caractérisé par l'absence de tout ce qui porte préjudice au bonheur des hommes contemporains; aussi les formules négatives sont-elles remarquables dans bon nombre de textes se rapportant à la description du «paradis perdu» (v. 91: νόσφιν, ἄτερ, ἄτερ)³⁵. C'est le cas aussi dans un passage où Hésiode raconte l'insouciance bienheureuse des hommes appartenant à la race d'or:

Ὡς τε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ διζύος, οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὅμοιοι
τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι, κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 112-115)³⁶

À l'accumulation des termes négatifs qui désignent — de nouveau à un rythme moyen d'environ une formule négative par vers — l'absence de tout mal à cette époque-là (ἀ- privatif dans ἀκηδέα, νόσφιν, ἄτερ, οὐδέ, ἔκτοσθεν) s'ajoutent ici des énoncés très positifs (ὥς τε θεοί, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὅμοιοι, τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι). De plus, dans les deux extraits que je viens de citer, il est explicitement dit que les hommes n'avaient pas à travailler: ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο (v. 91) et ἄτερ πόνων (v. 113). Leur temps était alors entièrement consacré à la fête (v. 115), qui reçoit par là-même une valorisation absolue.

³⁴ «La race humaine vivait auparavant sur la terre à l'écart et à l'abri des peines, de la dure fatigue, des maladies douloureuses, qui apportent le trépas aux hommes» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

³⁵ Comparer, par exemple, le tableau que dresse Ovide de l'âge d'or au début des *Métamorphoses*: on n'y compte pas moins de 21 négations dans 24 vers (Ov., *Mét.* I 89-112).

³⁶ «Ils vivaient comme des dieux, le cœur libre de soucis, à l'écart et à l'abri des peines et des misères: la vieillesse misérable sur eux ne pesait pas; mais, bras et jarret toujours jeunes, ils s'égayaient dans les festins, loin de tous les maux» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

A.3.2. La contrainte de travailler comme conséquence de la punition des hommes par Zeus

Si les hommes de la race d'or ne devaient pas travailler, Hésiode explique comment le travail fut introduit dans l'expérience humaine, en recourant aux mythes de Prométhée et de Pandora: le mythe hésiodique narre, dans les deux œuvres³⁷, l'affrontement entre Prométhée et Zeus qui opposent leur intelligence ou leur sagesse (μητις) l'un à l'autre dans une série de tromperies, dont Zeus sort évidemment vainqueur³⁸. Le résultat en est la dure condition humaine³⁹, dans laquelle l'homme est désormais contraint de travailler.

Κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισιν.
Ῥηιδίως γάρ κεν καὶ ἐπ' ἡματι ἐργάσσαιο,
ὥστε σε κείς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἀεργὸν ἐόντα.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 42-44)⁴⁰

Les ressources matérielles, les céréales sont maintenant «cachées», c'est-à-dire enfouies dans le sol qu'il faut cultiver pour obtenir un résultat. Que ce travail est nécessairement régulier et dur, ressort de l'équivalence entre ἐπ' ἡματι (une journée de travail) et κείς ἐνιαυτὸν (une année de récoltes) ainsi que de la double qualification des conditions de vie et de travail comme Ῥηιδίως et ἀεργὸν dans l'hypothèse qui n'est plus de mise dans le nouvel ordre.

³⁷ J.-P. VERNANT, *À la table des hommes. Mythe de fondation du sacrifice chez Hésiode*, dans M. DETIENNE – J.-P. VERNANT, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec (Bibliothèque des histoires)*, Paris 1979, p. 37-132, compare les deux récits du drame prométhéen dans la *Théogonie* 507-616 et *Les Travaux et les Jours* 42-105 pour en dégager l'essence du sacrifice. Dans son *Habilitationsschrift*, W. BLÜMER, *Interpretation archaischer Dichtung. Die mythologischen Partien der Erga Hesiods*, 2 vols, Münster 2001, analyse la transformation du mythe prométhéen de la *Théogonie* dans *Les Travaux et les Jours* (notamment vol. 2, p. 55-200).

³⁸ D. BECQUEMONT – P. BONTE, *Mythologies du travail. Le travail nommé (Logiques sociales)*, Paris 2004, p. 75-76. La catégorie grecque de cette intelligence de la ruse est étudiée amplement par M. DETIENNE – J.-P. VERNANT, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La mêtis des Grecs*, Paris 1978 (regroupement d'articles parus antérieurement mais remaniés pour la publication de ce livre).

³⁹ J.-P. VERNANT, *À la table* (n. 37), p. 41-42, écrit que «ce qui est en question à travers le conflit opposant l'astuce retorse du Titan à l'intelligence sans faille de l'Olympien, c'est en dernière analyse le statut qui définit la condition humaine, le mode d'existence propre aux hommes d'aujourd'hui».

⁴⁰ «C'est que les dieux ont caché ce qui fait vivre les hommes; sinon, sans effort, tu travaillerais un jour, pour récolter de quoi vivre toute une année sans rien faire» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

A.4. SYNTHÈSE DES APPRÉCIATIONS POSITIVE (VERTU) ET NÉGATIVE (CONDAMNATION) DU TRAVAIL CHEZ HÉSIODE

Dans la vision grecque sur le travail, telle qu'elle fut amorcée par Hésiode, le travail comme vertu et le travail comme malédiction se complètent logiquement. En s'accommodant de la nécessité de travailler, Hésiode transforme cette réalité en vision normative qui invite à accepter le travail plutôt comme valeur libératrice que dans son aspect pénible de fardeau inéluctable⁴¹. Si l'on veut inverser l'énoncé du vers 311 des *Travaux et des Jours* cité plus haut, on peut affirmer que c'est un honneur de travailler. L'œuvre d'Hésiode est une incitation au travail à l'égard de Persès et de tous les hommes.

Ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἡμετέρης μεμνημένος αἰὲν ἐφετμῆς
ἐργάζεαι, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε λιμὸς
ἐχθαίρῃ, φιλέῃ δέ σ' εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ
αἰδοίῃ, βίотου δὲ τεινὴν πιμπλῇσι καλὴν.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 298-301)⁴²

L'appel est explicite: ἐργάζεαι (v. 299). Et s'il est adressé à Persès, il s'entend qu'avec la «publication» du poème il devient universel. Le but du travail est également clairement indiqué par la subordonnée finale introduite par ὄφρα: surmonter les difficultés inhérentes à notre condition et s'assurer par le travail de quoi vivre.

Pour parvenir à ce but, l'homme dispose d'un secours inattendu: Hésiode corrige une idée qu'il avait avancée dans sa *Théogonie*, où il ne fit mention que d'une Ἑρις (v. 225). Maintenant, il distingue deux Ἑριδες: une Lutte maléfique et une Rivalité saine⁴³.

Οὐκ ἄρα μούνον ἔην Ἑρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
εἰσὶ δὺο·
(...)
ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν·
εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τις τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζων
πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἡδὲ φυτεύειν
οἴκόν τ' εὖ θέσθαι, ζηλοῖ δὲ τε γείτονα γείτων

⁴¹ Helga SCHOLTEN, *Die Bewertung* (n. 9), p. 7, exprime bien cette idée: «Jetzt gilt es, nicht mit dem Schicksal zu hadern, sondern sich mit ihm abzufinden und ihm Positives abzugewinnen».

⁴² «Va, souviens-toi toujours de mon conseil: travaille, Persès, noble fils, pour que la faim te prenne en haine et que tu te fasses chérir de l'auguste Déméter au front couronné, qui remplira ta grange du blé qui fait vivre» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

⁴³ Voir J.-P. VERNANT, *À la table* (n. 37), p. 55-57.

εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ'· ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσιν.
 Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
 καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 11-12 et 20-26)⁴⁴

Ceux à qui manque la force ou la volonté de travailler (ἀπάλαμον, ἔργοιο χατίζων)⁴⁵ travailleront quand même (ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν), sous la douce pression de l'Ἔρις qui se révèle par ses bienfaits comme la bonne Ἔρις (v. 24). Le vocabulaire de l'envie est varié, subtil, voire plus souvent implicite (ἕτερον, γείτονα γείτων, κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ, τέκτονι τέκτων, πτωχὸς πτωχῷ et ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ) qu'explicite (Ἐρίδων, ζηλοῖ, Ἔρις, κοτέει et φθονέει) dans ce passage.

À travers l'appréciation positive de cette concurrence et du travail auquel elle pousse l'homme, on rejoint la valorisation première du travail qui était le point de départ de cette première partie de mon étude. Le travail apparaît donc comme une donnée évidente et inaliénable de la condition humaine, par laquelle le travailleur peut aspirer à son autonomie en tant qu'individu (liberté) et pour le compte de son foyer (autarcie)⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ «Ne disons plus qu'il n'est qu'une sorte de Lutte: sur cette terre, il en est deux. (...) Elle éveille au travail même l'homme au bras indolent: il sent le besoin du travail le jour où il voit le riche qui s'empresse à labourer, à planter, à faire prospérer son bien: tout voisin envie le voisin empressé à faire fortune. Cette Lutte-là est bonne aux mortels. Le potier en veut au potier, le charpentier au charpentier, le pauvre est jaloux du pauvre et le chanteur du chanteur» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

⁴⁵ Contrairement à P. Mazon dont j'ai repris la traduction dans la note précédente, je préfère lire ἔργοιο χατίζων et non pas ἔργοιο χατίζει au v. 21 (les deux leçons étant bien attestées). Si ce choix a des implications au niveau de la syntaxe et pour la traduction, le sens global du passage est bien établi. Voir Hesiod, *Works & Days*, edited with Prolegomena and Commentary by M.L. West, Oxford 1978, p. 96 et 145-146.

⁴⁶ Le parallélisme avec la vision judéo-chrétienne sur le travail, notamment dans la *Genèse*, est frappant (Helga SCHOLTEN, *Die Bewertung* (n. 9), p. 7 note 29, a une approche légèrement différente de cette question, mais elle apporte d'utiles compléments d'information sur l'évaluation du travail par les chrétiens des premiers siècles, p. 13-21). Comme la démonstration des correspondances entre Hésiode et la *Genèse* nous mènerait trop loin, je me contente de citer ici les versets principaux que l'on peut confronter aux textes d'Hésiode et d'autres écrivains de l'Antiquité grecque (texte grec de la Septante suivi de la traduction française selon la TOB), en donnant de brefs éléments de commentaire. Au début, le travail était une bénédiction de Dieu, puisque c'était déjà une activité antélapsaire — c'est la différence essentielle avec le modèle hésiodique: Καὶ ἔλαβεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν (*Genèse* 2.15) [TOB 1975: «Le Seigneur Dieu prit l'homme et l'établit dans le jardin d'Eden pour cultiver le sol et le garder».] Après la chute, le travail — comme toute caractéristique de l'homme — est perverti et la terre à cultiver est maudite. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν· Ὅτι ἡκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικὸς σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλαμην σοι τοῦτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου· ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· ἀκάν-

B. LE REPOS / L'INTERRUPTION DU TRAVAIL QUOTIDIEN

Dans cette deuxième partie, je ne me propose pas de dresser un aperçu des loisirs des Grecs⁴⁷ mais d'étudier les rapports entre le travail et toute activité qui l'interrompait. Il s'agira donc de comprendre la finalité du

θας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. Ἐν ἰδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήμφθης· ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ (*Genèse* 3.17-19) [TOB 1975: «Il dit à Adam: “Parce que tu as écouté la voix de ta femme et que tu as mangé de l'arbre dont je t'avais formellement prescrit de ne pas manger, le sol sera maudit à cause de toi. C'est dans la peine que tu t'en nourriras tous les jours de ta vie, il fera germer pour toi l'épine et le chardon et tu mangeras l'herbe des champs. À la sueur de ton visage tu mangeras du pain jusqu'à ce que tu retournes au sol car c'est de lui que tu as été pris. Oui, tu es poussière et à la poussière tu retourneras”»]. Si le sol donne encore ses fruits au laboureur postlapsaire, il n'en sera pas ainsi pour Caïn suite à sa révolte contre Dieu: Καὶ νῦν ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἣ ἔχανε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δεξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου· ὅτι ἐργᾷ τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὐ προσθήσει τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς δοῦναι σοι· στένων καὶ τρέμων ἔσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (*Genèse* 4.11-12) [TOB 1975: «Tu es maintenant maudit du sol qui a ouvert la bouche pour recueillir de ta main le sang de ton frère. Quand tu cultiveras le sol, il ne te donnera plus sa force. Tu seras errant et vagabond sur la terre»]. Certes, Caïn en tant que pêcheur sera finalement protégé par Dieu. Lorsqu'il craint d'être perdu, le Seigneur le rassure: Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Οὐχ οὕτως· πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας Κάιν ἐπτά ἐκδικούμενα παραλύσει. Καὶ ἔθετο Κύριος ὁ Θεός σημεῖον τῷ Κάιν τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὐρίσκοντα αὐτόν (*Genèse* 4.15) [TOB 1975: «Le Seigneur lui dit: “Eh bien! Si l'on tue Caïn, il sera vengé sept fois” Le Seigneur mit un signe sur Caïn pour que personne en le rencontrant ne le frappe»]. Toujours est-il que l'attitude de l'homme vis-à-vis du Seigneur a entraîné une altération du statut du travail: d'un commandement béni, le travail devient une malédiction et une nécessité pénible pour l'homme. On retrouve donc ce double aspect du travail, même si le contexte religieux est tout à fait différent. Les convergences partielles entre des auteurs grecs comme Hésiode et des textes du Proche-Orient comme l'Ancien Testament doivent être comprises comme un des indicateurs des contacts et des influences mutuelles entre les peuples du bassin méditerranéen est. Au sujet de l'influence des civilisations du Proche-Orient sur la culture grecque, on peut lire, parmi d'autres études, M. BERNAL, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, 2 vols, New Brunswick (NJ) 1987-1991 [à compléter toutefois par Mary R. LEFKOWITZ – G.M. ROGERS (dirs), *Black Athena Revisited*, Chapel Hill (NC) 1996]; W. BURKERT, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984/1)*, Heidelberg 1984 ou plutôt sa version remaniée et élargie dans la traduction anglaise par Margaret E. Pinder et W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age (Revealing Antiquity, 5)*, Cambridge (MA) – Londres 1992; M.L. WEST, *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 1997. Pour les rapports d'Hésiode avec le Proche-Orient ajoutons-y le livre, périmé sur certains points, de P. WALCOT, *Hesiod and the Near East*, Cardiff 1966, et l'étude plus actuelle, concernant également les hymnes homériques, de C. PENGLASE, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia. Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod*, Londres – New York 1994.

⁴⁷ Voir J.-M. ANDRÉ, *Les loisirs en Grèce et à Rome (Que sais-je?, 2169)*, Paris 1984, p. 7-24.

repos par rapport à l'action libératrice du travail pour le citoyen. Néanmoins, pour le but de l'analyse, il est utile de regrouper certaines catégories de «loisirs», c'est-à-dire d'activités qui se situent en dehors du cadre du travail. Lorsque les Grecs avaient du temps libre, dans quels types d'activités l'investissaient-ils⁴⁸? Je distinguerai le loisir individualiste, la participation aux festivals et aux sacrifices, la «politique» et le loisir «subversif» du philosophe.

B.1. FORMES MULTIPLES D'INTERRUPTION INDIVIDUALISTE DE LA ROUTINE QUOTIDIENNE

Une première façon d'utiliser le temps libre était pour les Grecs de s'adonner à des plaisirs individuels multiples, sans doute pour se reposer du travail et pour oublier les désagréments de leur existence. Que cette orientation vers soi était aussi une fuite de la société, nous est rappelé par de nombreux textes, dont je ne cite ici que deux fragments de deux poètes archaïques.

Αἰσιμίδη, δήμου μὲν ἐπίρρησιν μελεδαίνων
οὐδεὶς ἄν μάλα πόλλ' ἡμερόεντα πάθοι.
(Archil., F14 West = F9 Diehl = F10 Lasserre-Bonnard = F9 Tarditi)⁴⁹

Après Archiloque, l'indifférence à l'égard du peuple, condition d'expériences joyeuses, sera prêchée par Mimnerme.

Σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτ<έω>ν
ἄλλος τίς σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.
(Mimn., F7 West = F7 Diehl = F12 Gentili-Prato)⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Le référent du loisir ou du repos est toujours double: par rapport au travail dont on s'abstient et en vue d'une activité qu'on juge utile et/ou agréable. Ceci apparaît, par exemple, à travers le régime du verbe σχολάζω, qui se construit tantôt avec ἀπό + génitif, tantôt avec un datif ou des tours prépositionnels pour exprimer respectivement «*have rest or respite from a thing, cease from doing*» et «*have leisure, time, or opportunity for a thing, devote one's time to a thing*» (LSJ, p. 1747, s.v. σχολάζω, II et III). La même remarque vaut pour le verbe latin *vacare*, qui peut régir un complément indirect à l'ablatif introduit ou non par le mot-outil *a(b)* («être libre de»), mais aussi un datif ou des constructions prépositionnelles (*ad* ou *in* + acc.) («être libre pour», «avoir des loisirs pour»); voir E. FORCELLINI *et alii*, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, 6 vols, Padoue 1864-1926⁴ (réimpr. 1940), vol. 4, p. 899-900, s.v. *vaco*.

⁴⁹ «Personne, Ésimidès, à se soucier des méchants propos du peuple ne récoltera beaucoup d'agrément» (trad. A. Bonnard 1958).

⁵⁰ «Songe à réjouir ton cœur. Les gens sont méchants: tel dira du mal de toi, tel autre du bien» (trad. A. Bonnard 1958).

Si ces deux distiques traduisent un sentiment individualiste opposé à l'éthique de l'épopée dont l'âge lyrique archaïque n'est pas très éloigné dans le temps, ils ne nomment pas le contenu du plaisir qu'ils préconisent. Aux temps classiques, Aristophane sera beaucoup plus précis :

Τούτους φράσον μοι, λιμένας, ἀρτοπώλια,
πορνεῖ, ἀναπαύλας, ἐκτροπάς, κρήνας, ὁδοῦς,
πόλεις, διαίτας, πανδοκευτρίας, ὅπου
κόρεις ὀλίγιστοι.

(Aristoph., *Grenouilles* 112-115)⁵¹

Lorsqu'il essaie d'obtenir des renseignements d'Héraclès pour son voyage chez Hadès, Dionysos s'intéresse particulièrement aux stations qui peuvent lui procurer un plaisir passager dans une optique individualiste. À travers la parodie d'un dieu olympien, Aristophane suggère quels étaient les plaisirs individuels des Athéniens au 5^{ème} siècle finissant.

B.2. FESTIVALS ET SACRIFICES

Cependant, le loisir offrait aux Grecs — ou aux Athéniens, car c'est la cité d'Athènes qui est de loin le mieux représentée dans nos sources — la possibilité de se retrouver dans un projet social concrétisé par des activités communes, que ce soit la fête publique (B.2) ou la politique (B.3). Dans ce cas, le repos valorise l'aspect social de l'homme, alors que le travail semble satisfaire à ses besoins individuels et familiaux.

B.2.1. Le rôle de la fête publique et du sacrifice pour l'unité de la cité

B.2.1.1. Les concours comme rassemblements publics et le théâtre comme lieu de citoyenneté

Les concours, festivals et sacrifices avaient en Grèce un haut sens communautaire symbolique et pratique, et ceci à plusieurs égards. Nous savons bien que les drames joués lors des divers concours s'inscrivaient dans l'événement social d'un vécu direct des liens entre les citoyens⁵².

⁵¹ «Indique-les moi, comme aussi les ports, boulangeries, lupanars, haltes, bifurcations, fontaines, routes, cités, logements, hôtelières chez qui il y a le moins de punaises» (trad. H. Van Daele 1928).

⁵² Voir Suzanne Saïd – Monique TRÉDÉ – A. LE BOULLUEC, *Histoire de la littérature grecque (Collection Premier Cycle)*, Paris 1997, p. 117-122. Plus profondément, Chr.

Aussi les Grandes Dionysies se prêtaient-elles à des manifestations politiques qui souvent n'avaient aucun rapport avec les œuvres représentées. Isocrate s'en est fait le témoin dans une argumentation de *Sur la paix* où il voulait prouver son impartialité en critiquant la politique athénienne à la fin du 5^{ème} siècle — pour ainsi justifier par ailleurs les réformes morales qu'il propose dans ce discours politique.

Οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὕρισκον ἐξ ὧν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα ἂν μισηθεῖεν, ὥστ' ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον τῶν πόρων ἀργύριον διελόντες κατὰ τάλαντον εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν ἐπειδὴν πλῆρες ἦ τὸ θέατρον· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μισθῶν εἰσφερομένας, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτὴν γιγνομένας.

(Isocr., *Sur la paix* 82)⁵³

Le théâtre est ici la scène d'une politique financière, militaire et stratégique qui vise à rendre compte du passé, à faire prendre position aux Grecs dans des questions actuelles par une stratégie sentimentale et à les orienter pour l'avenir. Le choix de ce lieu est conditionné par la densité (ἐπειδὴν πλῆρες ἦ τὸ θέατρον) de la présence des citoyens d'Athènes et des autres cités grecques (τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι).

Un autre exemple du théâtre comme lieu politique fut la cérémonie en l'honneur de Démosthène qui y reçut une couronne d'or en 330 sur la proposition de Ctésiphon. Au lieu du prétendu texte du décret de Ctésiphon dans le *Sur la couronne* 118, je préfère citer un autre document, apocryphe lui aussi, il est vrai⁵⁴, mais qui est plus expressif et se rapporte à un précé-

MEIER, *Die politische Kunst der griechischen Tragödie*, Munich 1988 (trad. française par Marielle Carlier, *De la tragédie grecque comme art politique* [Histoire, 9], Paris 1991) définit la tragédie grecque comme un élément du jeu politique et l'esthétique tragique comme une dimension fondamentale de la vie politique à Athènes.

⁵³ «Ils inventaient si exactement ce qui pouvait le plus provoquer la haine, qu'ils avaient voté de répartir talent par talent l'argent restant des revenus publics et de le faire apporter dans l'orchestre aux Dionysies quand le théâtre serait comble; et, quand ils le faisaient, ils produisaient aussi les enfants des soldats morts à la guerre, montrant à la fois à leurs alliés la rançon de leur fortune qu'apportaient des salariés, et aux autres Grecs le grand nombre des orphelins et les malheurs provoqués par cette ambition» (trad. G. Mathieu 1942).

⁵⁴ Voir la discussion de la question des documents insérés dans le discours *Sur la couronne* par G. Mathieu dans sa notice de l'édition du discours dans la *Collection des Universités de France: Démosthène, Plaidoyers politiques*, 4, texte établi et traduit par

dent rappelé par Démosthène: en effet, les Athéniens lui avaient déjà décerné une couronne d'or début 337 sur la proposition d'Aristonikos.

(...) Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἤλευθερώκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὦν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, (...)

(Dém., *Sur la couronne* 84)⁵⁵

Le décret d'Aristonikos développe les services rendus par Démosthène à Athènes, à un grand nombre d'alliés et à certaines villes d'Eubée pour les amplifier comme des bienfaits à l'égard des Athéniens et de *tous* les Grecs (τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων par opposition à πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων et τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων). La récompense juste de ces hauts faits est alors l'octroi d'une couronne d'or ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, puisque les concours sont l'événement public par excellence.

Mais le contenu même des pièces pouvait avoir un rapport immédiat avec les intérêts de la cité, même si les sujets des tragédies étaient tirés en principe d'un univers mythologique. Ainsi, dans la fiction aristophanesque, Eschyle expose le rôle et le but de la poésie en général et du drame en particulier avec les propos suivants:

Πάνυ δὴ δεῖ χρηστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς.

(Aristoph., *Grenouilles* 1056)⁵⁶

G. Mathieu, Paris 1947, p. 17-21. V. Martin et G. de Budé (*Eschine, Discours 2 [CUF]*, texte établi et traduit par V.M. et G. de B., Paris 1928, p. 9) proposent une reconstitution approximative du décret de Ctésiphon.

⁵⁵ «(...) Considérant que Démosthène de Paiania, fils de Démosthène, a rendu beaucoup de grands services au peuple athénien, que, par ses décrets, autrefois et dans les circonstances présentes, il a porté secours à beaucoup de nos alliés, qu'il a délivré certaines villes d'Eubée, qu'il a un dévouement incessant pour le peuple athénien, qu'il parle et agit, autant qu'il le peut, pour le bien des Athéniens eux-mêmes et des autres Grecs; plaise au Conseil et au peuple athénien de décerner à Démosthène de Paiania, fils de Démosthène, un éloge et une couronne d'or, et de faire proclamer la couronne au théâtre, aux Dionysies, lors de la représentation des tragédies nouvelles (...)» (trad. G. Mathieu 1958).

⁵⁶ «Nous avons l'absolu devoir de ne dire que des choses honnêtes» (trad. H. Van Daele 1928).

Et plus loin dans la même comédie, Dionysos fait part à Eschyle et à Euripide du critère de sélection pour retenir l'un des deux tragédiens pour un retour à Athènes en disant:

Ὅπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειν
μέλλῃ τι χρηστόν, τοῦτον ἄξιον μοι δοκῶ.
(Aristoph., *Grenouilles* 1420-1421)⁵⁷

La fonction des drames se situait donc, du moins partiellement, au niveau de l'honnêteté et de l'utilité pour la cité.

B.2.1.2. Les sacrifices comme moyen d'unification de la communauté

Si l'on regarde les sacrifices grecs comme l'une des formes d'activité commune des citoyens, on s'aperçoit qu'ils étaient un moteur d'unification du corps social dans plusieurs de leurs modalités.

B.2.1.2.1. Répartition égale des morceaux de viande à tous les participants

Tout d'abord, la découpe de la victime se fait en parts égales, tout comme la répartition par tirage au sort respecte l'égalité des citoyens⁵⁸. Aux yeux des Grecs, cette égalité était si évidente qu'Aristophane a pu l'évoquer dans la parodie d'un sacrifice accompagné de serments.

(ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ) Φέρ' ἐγὼ καθαγίσω τήνδε. (ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΗ) Τὸ
μέρος γ', ὃ φίλη,
ὅπως ἂν ὦμεν εὐθὺς ἀλλήλων φίλοι.
(Aristoph., *Lysistrata* 238-239)⁵⁹

Que l'interlocutrice de Lysistrata soit une Athénienne et non pas la représentante des Lacédémoniennes, est révélateur pour le symbolisme du partage dans l'économie de la pièce: la «victime» (ici une coupe de vin) doit être partagée correctement (τὸ μέρος γ'), même entre des femmes de la même cité.

⁵⁷ «Par conséquent, celui de vous deux qui à la cité donnera un conseil salutaire, c'est celui-là que je décide d'emmener» (trad. H. Van Daele 1928).

⁵⁸ M. DETIENNE, *Pratiques culinaires et esprit de sacrifice*, dans M. DETIENNE – J.-P. VERNANT, *La cuisine* (n. 37), p. 7-35, ici p. 23-24.

⁵⁹ «(LYSISTRATA) Allons que je fasse l'oblation de cette coupe. — (CLÉONICE) Ta part seulement, ma chère, afin que du coup nous soyons toutes amies» (trad. H. Van Daele 1950).

B.2.1.2.2. L'animal choisi comme signe d'interruption du travail individuel au moment du sacrifice

Deuxièmement, le choix de l'animal à sacrifier est également un indice du caractère communautaire du sacrifice grec: l'animal par excellence du sacrifice était le bœuf laboureur. Certes, on a pu expliquer ce choix par la proximité du bœuf de labour à l'homme par rapport aux animaux sauvages: étant un animal domestique voisin des hommes, le bœuf pouvait représenter en quelque sorte l'homme⁶⁰. Mais il me paraît tout aussi fondamental de voir dans la mise à mort du bœuf laboureur la cessation symbolique du travail, qui était, on se le rappelle, du domaine privé ou familial. L'immolation de l'instrument du labour interrompt alors le travail individuel pour initier la rencontre cérémonielle de la communauté entière autour du sacrifice.

B.2.1.2.3. Les sacrifices comme manifestation des citoyens

Une autre modalité du sacrifice concerne l'identité des participants: n'y furent admis, en principe, que les citoyens, à l'exclusion des étrangers, des esclaves et des femmes, qui n'appartenaient pas à la communauté politique des citoyens⁶¹.

Tous ces facteurs font que le sacrifice était un moyen de rassembler les citoyens et de fortifier leurs liens mutuels de solidarité exclusive, tout comme la fête dont le sacrifice faisait partie offrait une occasion incomparable de renforcer la cohésion de la communauté⁶².

B.2.1.3. Les repas en commun (des Spartiates)⁶³

Pour élargir le spectre qui est forcément concentré sur Athènes, citons les repas en commun qui existaient partout dans le monde grec, mais dont

⁶⁰ J.-P. VERNANT, *À la table* (n. 37), p. 62 et D. BECQUEMONT – P. BONTE, *Mythologies* (n. 38), p. 82.

⁶¹ D. BECQUEMONT – P. BONTE, *Mythologies* (n. 38), p. 79. Voir toutefois les précisions que R. LONIS, *La cité* (n. 29), p. 53-56 apporte à la question de la participation des femmes au sacrifice.

⁶² R. LONIS, *La cité* (n. 29), p. 179-182.

⁶³ Voir R. LONIS, *La cité*, p. 177-178.

les plus connus étaient pratiqués en Crète et à Sparte. Il n'est pas surprenant que la définition que nous trouvons dans la tradition lexicographique insiste sur le caractère communautaire de ces repas.

Συσσιτισμός. Ἡ συντροφία, ἥτοι τὸ συνέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἄριστον.
Καὶ συσσίτια.

(Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexique*, lemme Συσσιτισμός)⁶⁴

Il ne s'agit pas tellement de manger ensemble, mais surtout de se rassembler (συνέρχεσθαι) entre «égaux» (οἱ ὅμοιοι à Sparte) et d'avoir communion (συντροφία). La commensalité a une fonction civique très nette.

B.2.2. La composante religieuse des festivals et des sacrifices

Mais au-delà de leur rôle social, les festivals, les fêtes publiques et les sacrifices revêtent aussi un caractère religieux. Ainsi, Platon dit par la bouche de l'étranger d'Athènes, dans les *Lois*, que les fêtes ont à la fois été instituées par les dieux et qu'elles sont célébrées en leur honneur.

Θεοὶ δὲ οἰκτεῖραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος,
ἀναπαύλας τε αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξαντο τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν
ἀμοιβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ Μούσας Ἀπόλλωνά τε μουσηγέτην καὶ
Διόνυσον συνεορταστὰς ἔδοσαν, ἵν' ἐπανορθῶνται, τὰς τε τροφὰς
γενομένας ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μετὰ θεῶν.

(Plat., *Lois* II, 653d1-5)⁶⁵

La raison d'être des fêtes est d'agrémenter la vie pénible des hommes (ἐπίπονον et ἀναπαύλας [...] τῶν πόνων), mais aussi de cultiver le contact entre hommes et dieux (τοῖς θεοῖς, Μούσας Ἀπόλλωνά τε μουσηγέτην καὶ Διόνυσον συνεορταστὰς et μετὰ θεῶν)⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ «Le fait de prendre ses repas ensemble (*syssitismos*). La vie en commun, c'est-à-dire se rassembler pour le petit déjeuner. On dit aussi *syssities* (repas en commun)» (trad. K. Vanhaegendoren).

⁶⁵ «Mais, dans leur pitié pour notre race naturellement vouée à la peine, les dieux ont institué, comme des haltes au milieu de nos travaux, l'alternance des fêtes qui se célèbrent en leur honneur; ils nous ont donné, pour célébrer avec nous ces fêtes et les régler, les Muses, Apollon Musagète, Dionysos, et nous leur devons le réconfort que des dieux font de ces fêtes» (trad. É. Des Places 1951). (Signalons simplement que la traduction de la dernière partie de cette phrase est sujette à caution.)

⁶⁶ Il est vrai que ce contact est difficile, voire impossible à établir ou à rétablir complètement, comme le remarque J.-P. VERNANT, *À la table* (n. 37), p. 42-45. Le statut des hommes comme mangeurs de viande est ambigu dans leurs rapports avec les dieux qui sont

B.2.2.1. Bienfaits envers les dieux

Les premiers bénéficiaires des sacrifices sont, de toute évidence, les dieux en l'honneur de qui les hommes sacrifient ce qui leur est cher. Le sacrifice est donc un don aux dieux, selon la belle formule de Platon.

Οὐκοῦν τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαι ἔστι τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸ δ' εὐχεσθαι αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεούς;

(Plat., *Euthyphron* 14c8-9)⁶⁷

Un cadeau correct consiste bien sûr en une chose dont le bénéficiaire a besoin ou qui lui est utile.

Καὶ αὖ τὸ διδόναι ὀρθῶς, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι τυγχάνουσιν δεόμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἐκείνοις αὖ ἀντιδωρεῖσθαι;

(Plat., *Euthyphron* 14e1-2)⁶⁸

Or, que l'homme peut-il offrir aux dieux? La question amènera Euthyphron dans une impasse, et il se dérobera devant l'insistance de Socrate. Mais l'épicurien Philodème paraît résoudre le problème par un recours à la piété naturelle de l'être humain.

Τὸ δαιμόνιον μὲν οὐ προσδεῖ[τ]αί τινος τιμῆς, ἡμῖν δὲ φυσικόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ τιμᾶν μάλιστα μέ[ν] ὁσίαις [ὕ]πολή[ψ]εσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ πάτριον παραδεδομένοις [ἐ]κάστῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος.

(Philodème, *Sur la musique*, VH¹ I 4.6 [Usener 386])⁶⁹

B.2.2.2. Bienfaits envers les hommes

Cette réponse peut toutefois ne pas être tout à fait convaincante. Dans sa remarquable quête de la vérité, Socrate soumet son interlocuteur à la question suivante:

éternels et qui n'ont pas besoin de ce type de nourriture; alors que les modes d'alimentation distincts séparent les hommes des dieux, le rite alimentaire du sacrifice cherche à mettre les hommes en contact avec le divin et ne fait cependant que consacrer chaque fois l'insurmontable distance des mondes humain et divin.

⁶⁷ «Sacrifier, n'est-ce pas faire des présents aux dieux? prier, n'est-ce pas leur adresser des demandes?» (trad. M. Croiset 1959).

⁶⁸ «Et, d'autre part, faire les dons qu'il faut, ce serait leur offrir à notre tour ce qu'ils peuvent avoir besoin de recevoir de nous?» (trad. M. Croiset 1959).

⁶⁹ «La divinité n'a pas besoin de vénération, mais il nous est naturel de la vénérer au plus haut degré par des conceptions pieuses, ensuite conformément à ce qui nous a été en partie transmis par les ancêtres» (trad. M. Solovine – J. Brun 1961).

“Α δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν λαμβάνουσιν, τί ὠφελοῦνται;
(Plat., *Euthyphron* 15a2)⁷⁰

La réponse d’Euthyphron est proche de la formulation de Philodème et contient notamment le terme de τιμή (15a9). Mais ce qui dans l’affirmation de Philodème reste sans réplique dans ce texte fragmentaire, ne peut pas ne pas susciter l’objection de Socrate dans un dialogue qui tente de définir la piété, du moment qu’Euthyphron revient à une proposition antérieurement écartée et s’embrouille ainsi dans des tentatives de définition qui sont loin de satisfaire le philosophe.

Si l’avantage pour les dieux est incertain et vu l’autonomie des dieux, le propre du sacrifice pourrait alors être ce que l’homme peut obtenir dans cet échange.

Ἄρ’ οὖν οὐ τό γε ὀρθῶς αἰτεῖν ἂν εἴη ὧν δεόμεθα παρ’ ἐκείνων,
ταῦτα αὐτοῦς αἰτεῖν;
(Plat., *Euthyphron* 14d9-10)⁷¹

On en revient ainsi à la ruse prométhéenne en ce qui concerne les sacrifices: dans le contact avec le divin, l’homme est avant tout intéressé par son propre avantage.

Ἐκ τοῦ δ’ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων
καίουσ’ ὅστέα λευκὰ θυθέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.
(Hés., *Théogonie* 556-557)⁷²

Le récit étiologique hésiodique explique le rite sacrificiel dans lequel les dieux sont censés croire qu’ils reçoivent la victime entière, alors qu’en réalité l’être humain veille surtout sur ses intérêts à lui, même dans le sacrifice aux dieux.

B.2.2.3. Rapport étroit entre service des dieux et service des hommes, culte et travail

Cependant, d’autres textes nous permettent d’établir un rapport plus équilibré du culte des dieux et des services que l’homme se rend à

⁷⁰ «Mais ce qu’ils tiennent de nous, quel en est pour eux l’avantage?» (trad. M. Croiset 1959).

⁷¹ «Demander ce qu’il faut, ne serait-ce pas leur demander ce que nous avons besoin qu’ils nous donnent?» (trad. M. Croiset 1959).

⁷² «Et aussi bien est-ce pourquoi, sur la terre, les fils des hommes brûlent aux Immortels les os nus des victimes sur les autels odorants» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

lui-même, de même qu'entre l'aspect religieux du repos et le travail. Il en est ainsi lorsque le poète béotien invite le paysan à accompagner son travail de prières en vue du succès du travail.

Εὐχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἄγνῃ
ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἄκτῃν.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 465-466)⁷³

Chez Hésiode, la prière est une prière de demande que l'homme adresse aux dieux en même temps qu'il effectue des actes rituels, qui, dans le contexte immédiat des deux vers cités, se constituent de manipulations professionnelles (comme l'attelage): la parole et l'acte (le labour, en l'occurrence) sont simultanés⁷⁴. En établissant un équilibre entre le culte et le travail, entre l'aspect sacré (εὐχεσθαι, ἱερὸν) et l'aspect profane (ἐκτελέα) de l'existence humaine, l'auteur restaure aussi l'harmonie perdue entre le respect dû aux dieux et le souci de soi des hommes.

Dans la clôture du poème, Hésiode met en rapport le travail rural, la morale et la piété.

Τάων εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος ὃς τάδε πάντα
εἰδὼς ἐργάζεται ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων.

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 826-828)⁷⁵

Le seul verbe conjugué, ἐργάζεται, met l'accent sur la nécessité du travail, mais ceci dans un rapport étroit avec le respect des règles imposées par les immortels et selon l'éthique devenue classique d'éviter toute ὕβρις (ὑπερβασίας signifiant «transgression»).

Dans cette vision harmonieuse, le travail en vient à se confondre avec le culte:

Ἦτι δὲ ἡ γῆ θεὸς οὔσα τοὺς δυναμένους καταμανθάνειν καὶ
δικαιοσύνην διδάσκει· τοὺς γὰρ ἄριστα θεραπεύοντας αὐτὴν
πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ἀντιποιεῖ.

(Xén., *Économique* 5.12)⁷⁶

⁷³ «Priez Zeus Infernal et la pure Déméter de rendre lourd en sa maturité le blé sacré de Déméter» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

⁷⁴ Marie-Christine LECLERC, *La parole chez Hésiode. À la recherche de l'harmonie perdue* (Collection d'Études Anciennes, Série grecque, 121), Paris 1993, p. 54-56.

⁷⁵ «Heureux et fortuné celui qui, sachant tout ce qui concerne les jours, fait sa besogne sans offenser les Immortels, consultant les avis célestes et évitant toute faute» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

⁷⁶ «Ce n'est pas tout, la terre, étant une divinité, enseigne aussi la justice à ceux qui sont capables de l'apprendre; c'est à ceux qui lui témoignent le plus d'égards qu'elle accorde en échange le plus de biens» (trad. P. Chantraine 1949).

Ce passage s'appuie sur l'ambivalence du terme *θεραπεύω* qui se rapporte tant à la cultivation de la terre qu'au culte d'une divinité; aussi la terre reçoit-elle ici un statut divin (*ἡ γῆ θεὸς οὖσα*)⁷⁷.

Cette entente entre hommes et dieux ne peut que satisfaire les dieux, indépendamment des bienfaits que les hommes peuvent en tirer. Par conséquent, le travail, compris comme expression de la soumission des hommes à la volonté divine, rend les hommes chers aux dieux. Le travail n'est alors rien d'autre qu'un culte.

καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι πολὺ φίλτεροι ἄθανάτοισιν

(Hés., *Les Travaux et les Jours* 309)⁷⁸

Finalement, l'intérêt des hommes et le culte des dieux se rejoignent et le travail constitue une unité avec toute autre activité. La vie religieuse et l'utilité du culte pour la cité ne se bornent pas aux fêtes et aux sacrifices, mais sont présentes dans chaque activité humaine, y compris, très certainement, le travail. Ainsi, travail, loisir, culte, festival, sacrifice et prières s'entremêlent pour ne former que des aspects divers de la réalité complexe de l'existence individuelle et sociale des citoyens.

B.3. PARTICIPATION DE L'INDIVIDU À LA GESTION DES AFFAIRES DE LA CITÉ, C'EST-À-DIRE À LA «POLITIQUE»

En Grèce ancienne, le loisir permettait aux citoyens de se vouer aussi à la gestion de tout ce qui avait trait à la πόλις.

B.3.1. Importance limitée du travail pour l'unité de la communauté

Le travail même n'avait qu'une importance relative pour fonder une communauté: l'idéal de l'autarcie familiale ne pouvant pas, finalement, être réalisé par le travail, les membres d'une communauté étaient dépendants les uns des autres pour pourvoir dans leurs besoins respectifs. C'est grâce à cette coopération économique des citoyens et à la spécialisation que naît la cité, remarque Platon.

⁷⁷ J.-P. VERNANT, *Travail et nature* (n. 27), p. 10.

⁷⁸ «Rien qu'en travaillant ils [*scil.* les hommes] deviennent mille fois plus chers aux Immortels» (trad. P. Mazon 1928).

Γίγνεται τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πόλις, ὥς ἐγῶμαι, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνει
 ἡμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ αὐτάρκης, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν <ῶν> ἐνδεής.
 (Plat., *République* II, 369b5-7)⁷⁹

Il est intéressant de constater que la coopération est fondée à la fois sur le travail et sur l'insuffisance du travail. Ce n'est donc pas le travail en tant que tel qui est à l'origine de la construction d'une unité sociale, mais plutôt la nécessité de coopérer, qui, elle, s'explique précisément par l'impossibilité de l'homme d'atteindre son but en vertu du travail solitaire ou même familial, c'est-à-dire par l'échec de l'autarcie (οὐκ αὐτάρκης).

De même, Platon a pu avancer la thèse, dans le *Protagoras*, selon laquelle les arts distribués aux hommes par Prométhée se révèlent insuffisants pour la constitution d'un véritable corps social, tout en suffisant à la production. Pour être une unité qui mérite son nom, la cité présuppose la présence de qualités morales et politiques parmi tous ses membres. Sinon, elle ne pourra subsister.

Ζεὺς οὖν δείσας περὶ τῷ γένει ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, Ἑρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην, ἵν' εἶεν πόλεων κόσμοι τε καὶ δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί. Ἐρωτᾷ οὖν Ἑρμῆς Δία τίνα οὖν τρόπον δοίη δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ ἀνθρώποις· «Πότερον ὥς αἱ τέχναι νενέμηνται, οὕτω καὶ ταύτας νείμω; Νενέμηνται δὲ ᾧδε· εἰς ἔχων ἱατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἱκανὸς ἰδιώταις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοί· καὶ δίκην δὲ καὶ αἰδῶ οὕτω θῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἥ ἐπὶ πάντας νείμω;» «Ἐπὶ πάντας,» ἔφη ὁ Ζεὺς, «καὶ πάντες μετεχόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πόλεις, εἰ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν μετέχοιεν ὥσπερ ἄλλων τεχνῶν· καὶ νόμον γε θεὸς παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον αἰδοῦς καὶ δίκης μετέχειν κτείνειν ὥς νόσον πόλεως.»

(Plat., *Protagoras* 322c1-d5)⁸⁰

⁷⁹ «Or, selon moi, repris-je, l'État doit sa naissance à l'impuissance où l'individu se trouve de se suffire lui-même et au besoin qu'il éprouve de mille choses» (trad. É. Chambry 1932).

⁸⁰ «Zeus alors, inquiet pour notre espèce menacée de disparaître, envoie Hermès porter aux hommes la pudeur et la justice, afin qu'il y eût dans les villes de l'harmonie et des liens créateurs d'amitié. Hermès donc demande à Zeus de quelle manière il doit donner aux hommes la pudeur et la justice: "Dois-je les répartir comme les autres arts? Ceux-ci sont répartis de la manière suivante: un seul médecin suffit à beaucoup de profanes, et il en est de même des autres artisans; dois-je établir ainsi la justice et la pudeur dans la race humaine, ou les répartir entre tous?" — "Entre tous, dit Zeus, et que chacun en ait sa part: car les villes ne pourraient subsister si quelques-uns seulement en étaient pourvus, comme il arrive pour les autres arts; en outre, tu établiras cette loi en mon nom, que tout homme incapable de participer à la pudeur et à la justice doit être mis à mort, comme un fléau de la cité"» (trad. A. Croiset – L. Bodin 1923).

À la différence des connaissances et des aptitudes techniques, le sens de l'honneur (αἰδώς)⁸¹ et la justice (δίκη) doivent être distribués à parts égales, tout comme les morceaux de viande lors du sacrifice: l'unité de la communauté repose en effet sur l'égalité des partenaires, c'est-à-dire de tous les citoyens. Ici encore, le travail apparaît comme une occupation insuffisante pour la vie en cité, et la répartition morcelée des spécialisations économiques parmi les hommes ne peut pas être le modèle sur lequel fonctionnera la présence de vertus morales et de principes politiques dans le corps des citoyens, si l'on vise à l'harmonie civile (πόλεων κόσμοι) et à la création de liens qui rassemblent les citoyens en amitié (δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί)⁸². Et qui plus est, les deux principes αἰδώς et δίκη sont essentiels non seulement à la structuration harmonieuse de la vie sociale de la cité, mais aussi à l'existence même de la cité (μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν et οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πόλις). Les seuls facteurs économiques ne suffisent pas pour construire une communauté politique qui repose sur αἰδώς et δίκη. En plus, l'auteur suggère que ces deux notions sont toutes les deux importantes à titre égal, comme apparaît par l'usage d'un double chiasme (αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην — δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ, puis δίκην [...] καὶ αἰδῶ — αἰδοῦς καὶ δίκης, soit le schéma **ABBA**, puis **BAAB**).

B.3.2. Opportunités du repos pour la vie sociale

Dans l'Oraison funèbre de Périclès, écrite par Thucydide, les domaines privé et public sont distingués pour être rapprochés d'autant plus efficacement.

Ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις <ἕτερα> πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικά μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν.

(Thuc. II 40.2)⁸³

⁸¹ Sur cette notion morale très importante en Grèce archaïque et classique, on dispose de deux études parues indépendamment l'une de l'autre dans la même année: D.L. CAIRNS, *Aidos: the Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford 1993 et Claudia KEMPER, *Göttliche Allmacht und menschliche Verantwortung: sittlicher Wert bei archaischen Dichtern der Griechen* (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 14), Trèves 1993; voir mon compte rendu dans *LEC* 63 (1995), p. 383.

⁸² Voir J.-P. VERNANT, *Travail et nature* (n. 27), p. 14-16.

⁸³ «Une même personne peut à la fois s'occuper de ses affaires et de celles de l'État; et, quand des occupations diverses retiennent des gens divers, ils peuvent pourtant juger

Les affaires privées (οἰκείων) sont associées aux travaux (ἔργα), donc aux activités économiques des individus (et des familles), et démarquées des affaires politiques (πολιτικῶν, τὰ πολιτικά), qui dans le sous-entendu de ce texte se réalisent hors du contexte économique du travail. Nous sommes autorisés, me semble-t-il, à en conclure que le travail, s'il n'empêche pas la participation à la politique, ne la favorise pas non plus. C'est donc avant tout le non-travail, le loisir, qui permet aux Athéniens de s'engager dans la vie politique de leur cité. Effectivement, la participation à la politique ne se faisant que pendant les loisirs, un dédommagement pour les citoyens démunis était prévu à certaines époques⁸⁴. Et Périclès souhaite cette participation fortement, car tout Athénien qui ne fait pas de politique est «inutile» (ἄχρεϊον). La politique devient ainsi un devoir du citoyen, pour lequel l'État lui donnait les moyens dans l'espace temporel qui se situait en dehors des activités économiques.

B.4. LE LOISIR AU SERVICE DE L'ÉPANOUISSEMENT INDIVIDUEL PAR LA PHILOSOPHIE: LE LOISIR «SUBVERSIF»

B.4.1. L'utilisation du temps (libre) pour la perfection personnelle et le bonheur

Cependant, certains citoyens athéniens envisageaient un autre type de loisir: le non-travail investi dans le travail de l'âme. Pour Platon, l'«activité» philosophique, qui n'est possible que dans le loisir, est le «travail» propre de l'âme (οἰκειοπραγία) et consiste en le souci de soi-même, c'est-à-dire le souci de l'âme⁸⁵. Aussi Socrate a-t-il pu répondre à Criton que c'est là ses dernières recommandations à ses amis avant de mourir:

“Ἀπερ ἀεὶ λέγω, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, οὐδὲν καινότερον· ὅτι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν

des affaires publiques sans rien qui laisse à désirer. Seuls, en effet, nous considérons l'homme qui n'y prend aucune part comme un citoyen non pas tranquille, mais inutile» (trad. Jacqueline de Romilly 1962). Voir mon analyse circonstanciée de ce passage, *Semantische studie van het woordveld ἀπραγμοσύνη — πολυπραγμοσύνη van de aanvang van de Griekse letterkunde tot en met Thucydides*, Louvain – Apeldoorn 1999, p. 135-154.

⁸⁴ Voir St. PODES, *Bezahlung für politische Partizipation im klassischen Athen: die Diäten als sozialstaatliche Institution?*, *AncSoc* 26 (1995), p. 5-25. Selon le type de service politique concerné ce μισθός s'appelait δικαστικός μισθός ou βουλευτικός μισθός, et vers 400 s'y ajouta un ἐκκλησιαστικός μισθός.

⁸⁵ Voir L. ISEBAERT, *Le loisir selon Platon. Paix, épanouissement et bonheur*, *LEC* 60 (1992), p. 297-311, ici p. 309.

αὐτοῖς ἐν χάριτι ποιήσετε ἅττ' ἂν ποιῆτε, κἄν μὴ νῦν ὁμολογήσητε.

(Plat., *Phédon* 115b5-8)⁸⁶

Aristote reconnaît aussi que la quête du bonheur présuppose le loisir. Il est pleinement conscient de la discrimination sociale que cela implique.

Τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν ἔχειν αὐτὸ δοκεῖ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως. Τοῦτο δ' οὐ τοῖς ἀσχολοῦσιν ὑπάρχει ἀλλὰ τοῖς σχολάζουσιν.

(Aristot., *Politique* VIII 3, 1338a1-4)⁸⁷

Les bienfaits du loisir se situent clairement au niveau individuel (τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως). Dans un autre passage, le philosophe en tire les conséquences pour celui qui dispose de temps libre: il est appelé à l'utiliser pour la plus haute finalité, à savoir l'activité contemplative, qui est le parfait bonheur de l'homme (ἡ τελεία [...] εὐδαιμονία [...] ἀνθρώπου).

Εἰ δὴ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς πράξεων αἱ πολιτικαὶ καὶ πολεμικαὶ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει προέχουσιν, αὗται δ' ἄσχολοι καὶ τέλους τινὸς ἐφίενται καὶ οὐ δι' αὐτὰς αἰρεταὶ εἰσιν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ ἐνέργεια σπουδῇ τε διαφέρειν δοκεῖ θεωρητικὴ οὖσα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐφίεσθαι τέλους, καὶ ἔχειν τὴν ἡδονὴν οἰκείαν (αὕτη δὲ συναύξει τὴν ἐνέργειαν), καὶ τὸ αὐτάρκες δὴ καὶ σχολαστικὸν καὶ ἄτρυτον ὡς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ μακαρίῳ ἀπονέμεται, τὰ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐνέργειαν φαίνεται ὄντα· ἡ τελεία δὲ εὐδαιμονία αὕτη ἂν εἴη ἀνθρώπου, λαβοῦσα μῆκος βίου τέλειον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀτελές ἐστι τῶν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἂν εἴη βίος κρείττων ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων.

(Aristot., *Éthique à Nicomaque* X 7.7-8, 1177b16-27)⁸⁸

⁸⁶ «Justement, Criton, je ne cesse pas d'en parler, répondit-il, et il n'y a rien de neuf à en dire! Voici: ayez, vous, le souci de vous-mêmes, et de votre part alors toute tâche sera une tâche faite par amour, et pour moi ou pour ce qui est mien, et pour vous-mêmes, n'eussiez-vous à présent pas pris d'engagement!» (trad. L. Robin 1926).

⁸⁷ «La vie de loisir, par contre, a, semble-t-il, en elle-même le plaisir et le bonheur de la vie bienheureuse. Mais cela n'appartient pas à ceux qui ont une vie laborieuse, mais à ceux qui ont une vie de loisir» (trad. P. Pellegrin 1990).

⁸⁸ «Si dès lors, parmi les actions conformes à la vertu, les actions relevant de l'art politique ou de la guerre viennent en tête par leur noblesse et leur grandeur, et sont cependant étrangères au loisir et dirigées vers une fin distincte et ne sont pas désirables par elles-mêmes; si, d'autre part, l'activité de l'intellect, activité contemplative, paraît bien à la fois l'emporter sous le rapport du sérieux et n'aspirer à aucune autre fin qu'elle-même, et posséder un plaisir achevé qui lui est propre (et qui accroît au surplus son activité); si enfin la pleine suffisance, la vie de loisir, l'absence de fatigue (dans les limites de l'humaine nature), et tous les autres caractères qu'on attribue à l'homme jouissant de la félicité, sont les manifestations rattachées à cette activité: il en résulte que c'est cette dernière qui sera

Par contraste avec la réalité de l'Athènes classique où le loisir conditionnait la participation à la politique que revendiquait Périclès, Aristote met l'activité politique en opposition avec le loisir: la politique active est considérée comme une activité dépourvue de loisir (ἄσχολοι), parce que trop utilitariste encore (τέλους τινὸς ἐφίενται καὶ οὐ δι' αὐτὰς αἰρεταὶ εἰσιν). Le vrai bonheur est dans l'activité de l'intellect (ἡ [...] τοῦ νοῦ ἐνέργεια), qui est autarcique, a sa finalité en soi (παρ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐφίεσθαι τέλους) et qui appartient au domaine du loisir (καὶ τὸ αὐταρκες δὴ καὶ σχολαστικόν), même si cela paraît être utopique, puisque cet idéal dépasse la mesure humaine (κρείττων ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον).

B.4.2. Équilibre des niveaux individuel et social du repos

Lorsque l'épanouissement du soi est recherché en dehors du contexte de la cité, le loisir devient «subversif» et il est en contradiction avec la «norme» qui règle l'utilisation «licite» du loisir: selon la règle de jeu du repos, telle que nous avons pu l'établir à partir d'un grand nombre de textes, le non-travail est l'*interruption* du *temps* (de travail) qui a pour but de *réunir* les citoyens dans l'*espace*, que ce soit à l'occasion de fêtes, de rites et de sacrifices ou alors dans la vie politique. Mais à vrai dire, si ce repli sur soi des philosophes, qui a trouvé son expression figée dans le slogan épicurien Λάθε βιώσας (fr. 551 Us.)⁸⁹, frappe par son caractère apparemment asocial, il n'en est pas moins vrai que Platon et, à un certain degré, Aristote ne considèrent pas systématiquement le loisir philosophique comme opposé à l'engagement social. Pour Platon et, dans une moindre mesure, pour Aristote la perfection personnelle doit contribuer finalement au bien de la société. Ici il suffit de rappeler le concept des philosophes-rois de Platon (cinquième et sixième livres de la *République*, 471c-502c), alors qu'à son élève nous devons la célèbre phrase φύσει πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος (*Éthique à Nicomaque* I 7.6, 1097b11). C'est Aristote encore qui a nommé la politique la science «la plus souveraine» (τῆς κυριωτάτης, *Éthique à Nicomaque* I 2.4, 1094a26)⁹⁰, et l'on peut

le parfait bonheur de l'homme, — quand elle est prolongée pendant une vie complète, puisque aucun des éléments du bonheur ne doit être inachevé. Mais une vie de ce genre sera trop élevée pour la condition humaine» (trad. J. Tricot 1990).

⁸⁹ «Cache ta vie» (trad. M. Solovine – J. Brun 1961).

⁹⁰ La suprématie de la science politique parmi les autres sciences est établie dans l'*Éthique à Nicomaque* I 2, 1094a18-b11.

penser aussi au questionnement subtil d'Aristote sur les rapports entre la vie philosophique et la vie politique dans la *Politique* (VII 2.5-6, 1324a25-35), auquel toutefois les dernières pages de l'*Éthique à Nicomaque* (X 6-8, 1176a30-1179a32) répliquent clairement en faveur de la vie contemplative.

Périclès, dans le document idéalisateur qu'est l'Oraison funèbre, rétablit pleinement l'équilibre:

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορίσμεθα, ἁγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίους νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.

(Thuc. II 38.1)⁹¹

Les délassements de l'esprit sont de double nature et se complètent parfaitement: les particules μὲν — δέ distinguent, sans les opposer, des manifestations publiques (ἁγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίους) et des lieux privés (ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν)⁹². Dans le contexte de la propagande athénienne de Périclès dans l'Oraison funèbre, le repos (ἀνάπαυλα) concerne aussi bien la vie publique que le domaine privé. Avec son souci de l'équilibre, l'Oraison funèbre semble prêter ici une attention égale au loisir individuel et à l'engagement public.

EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Les activités du citoyen s'organisent autour de deux axes: un axe individuel et un axe social. En plus, il y a le souci constant de conformité des actions humaines à la volonté des dieux. Ces trois aspects sont indissociables pour le citoyen grec à l'époque classique, de même que la société

⁹¹ «Avec cela, pour remède à nos fatigues, nous avons assuré à l'esprit les délassements les plus nombreux: nous avons des concours et des fêtes religieuses qui se succèdent toute l'année, et aussi, chez nous, des installations luxueuses, dont l'agrément quotidien chasse au loin la contrariété» (trad. Jacqueline de Romilly 1962).

⁹² La traduction de ἰδίαις par Jacqueline de Romilly citée dans la note précédente est quelque peu ambiguë, en ce que «chez nous» pourrait aussi renvoyer à Athènes, que l'Oraison funèbre oppose à maintes reprises à d'autres cités (notamment Sparte). Ici, Périclès ne formule aucun contraste entre Athènes et d'autres cités. Par ailleurs, il va de soi que le terme ἴδιος ne saurait qualifier que la sphère privée par opposition à ce qui appartient à l'État, et c'est bien sûr le sens qu'a voulu rendre la traductrice. Une remarque de Mme Jacqueline Assaël, professeur de langue et littérature grecques (Nice), lors de la discussion après ma conférence à l'Université de Nice – Sophia Antipolis le 6 décembre 2005 m'a préservé de mal interpréter cette traduction.

ne peut survivre que grâce à l'engagement des citoyens. Il paraît donc légitime de parler d'interdépendance de l'individu et de la cité avec un arrière-plan religieux.

Deuxièmement, le travail et le loisir ne sont pas deux entités opposées, mais des facteurs complémentaires pour l'accomplissement de la «personnalité» du citoyen libre. L'alternance du travail (principalement privé) et du repos (principalement vécu en commun) dans les cités de la Grèce ancienne est fondamentale pour l'individu et la communauté: c'est grâce à cette alternance que l'homme libre se parfait et le travail nécessite sa propre interruption qui d'habitude est mise au service de la communauté; celle-ci, à son tour, offre au citoyen le cadre indispensable à son accomplissement par le travail pour lui-même et pour son foyer. Un indice marquant de la complémentarité des activités du citoyen grec (athénien) est bien le paiement d'une indemnité pour ceux qui participaient aux travaux de certaines institutions démocratiques⁹³ comme pour ceux qui assistaient aux représentations de pièces au théâtre⁹⁴. Si le non-travail investi dans des activités culturelles, religieuses et politiques était ainsi rémunéré au même titre que le travail — qui avait une valeur économique, puisqu'il apportait aux travailleurs un salaire ou une source d'existence —, cela signifiait assurément la reconnaissance matérielle et morale de la part de la cité que le travail et le loisir dans son utilisation sociale (politique ou concours/festivals) constituaient tous les deux des composantes essentielles de l'existence du citoyen. En travaillant ou en se reposant, en «augmentant son foyer» selon la formule de Xénophon ou en s'unissant au corps social à travers des fêtes culturelles et religieuses ou encore dans la pratique de la politique, le citoyen libre œuvrait à son propre épanouissement comme au développement de la cité, d'une manière ou d'une autre.

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⁹³ Voir B.3.2.

⁹⁴ Sur le θεωρικόν ou, au pluriel, les θεωρικά voir J.J. BUCHANAN, *Theorika. A Study of Monetary Distributions to the Athenian Citizenry during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, New York 1962.

POLITICAL MURDER IN CLASSICAL GREECE*

Abstract: This paper intends to examine three different aspects of political murder in the Greek classical world: (a) justifiable killing of aspiring tyrants; (b) 'judicial' murder as an alternative kind of political killing, i.e. the habit of eliminating (directly or by death sentences) politicians who were considered to be dangerous; (c) murders in civil strifes. Since murder seems to have been rather infrequent in Athens, where political confrontation was particularly fierce, one of the points that will be addressed in this paper is a consideration of the reasons for this 'anomaly'.

According to W. Plat (*Attentate. Eine Sozialgeschichte des politischen Mordes*, Düsseldorf 1982), political murder is «an attack with political motivation against someone having a distinguished social standing». The definition proposed by F.L. Ford (*Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism* Cambridge [Mass.] – London 1985) is perhaps more satisfying: «Assassination is the intentional killing of a specified victim or group of victims, perpetrated for reasons related to his (her, their) public prominence and undertaken with a political purpose in view». As an extreme expression of political struggle politically motivated, murder has permanently manifested itself in the history of mankind. As a consequence, many monographs dedicated to this topic do not merely focus on the ancient world: among the most recent contributions mention may be made here of A. Demandt, U. Schultz, and M. Sommer¹.

In the present paper I intend to examine three different aspects of political murder in the Greek classical world, which appears to be a multifaceted phenomenon.

(a) In its most noteworthy form political murder legitimized the killing of aspiring tyrants. Their liquidation was seen as an act of *dikaïos phonos*. The provision perhaps dates back to explicit legislation in Dracon's law

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¹ A. Demandt, *Das Attentat in der Geschichte*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1996; U. Schultz, *Grosse Verschwörungen: Staatsstreich und Tyrannensturz von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1998; M. Sommer, *Politische Morde. Vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, Darmstadt 2005.

on homicide. The tyrannicide *par excellence* — the murder of Peisistratos' son, Hipparchos, by the young aristocrats Harmodios and Aristogeiton — even acquired the status of 'foundation myth' of Athenian democracy.

(b) Apart from the case of tyrannicide, the Greeks had the habit of eliminating (directly or by death sentences) politicians who were considered to be dangerous, even though this phenomenon displays different levels of intensity according to context. The aforementioned definition by Ford points to 'judicial' murder as an alternative kind of political killing that favours the political use of justice instead of the use of force.

(c) Finally, murders in civil strifes were a frequent phenomenon in the Greek *poleis*. Internal political struggle often caused a great number of victims. When Theramenes blamed Kritias for the violence of the Thirty Tyrants against Athenian citizens, the latter replied with a touch of cynicism that «all sorts of changes in government are attended by loss of life» (πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι: Xenophon, *Hellenica* II 3.32)². Even if not all the Greeks were as unscrupulous as Kritias, they certainly faced political murder with realism and considered it a fact that could not be ignored in times of intense political struggle. Yet, in Athens, where political confrontation was particularly fierce, murder seems to have been rather infrequent: one of the points that will be addressed in this paper is a consideration of the reasons for this 'anomaly'.

I. JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE AND TYRANNICIDE

Greek law admitted justifiable homicide in some specific cases, which in the Athenian context are known thanks to Dracon's law on homicide (second half of the 7th century BC). The law is partially preserved in an inscription dating back to 409/8 (*IG* I³ 304) which republishes the ancient text; other sources allow us to complete the epigraphical data. Dracon's law considered both self-defence murder in case of assault (cf. Il. 36-39 / Demosthenes 23.60) and the murder of a banished convicted assassin returning to his country (cf. Il. 30-31 / Demosthenes 23.28) as a *dikaïos phonos*. Other cases as well were probably provided for by the law³.

² Translation by C.L. BROWNSON (Xenophon, I-II, London-Cambridge [MA] 1985-1986).

³ See R.S. STROUD, *Dracon's Law on Homicide*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968; E. CANTARELLA, *Studi sull'omicidio in diritto greco e romano*, Milano 1976, p. 79ff.

Among them is the murder of aspiring tyrants. According to Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution* 16.10) one of the «ancestral laws» of the Athenians stated that an aspiring tyrant must be considered *atimos*, *i.e.* deprived of legal protection and liable to be subject to justifiable homicide:

These are the ordinances and ancestral principles of Athens: if any persons rise in insurrection in order to govern tyrannically, or if any person assists in establishing the tyranny, he himself and his family shall be disfranchised⁴.

Elsewhere in the Greek world, too, the murder of aspiring tyrants was probably regarded as a case of justifiable homicide⁵.

The case of Athens, whose legislation is relatively well-known to us, provides several other testimonies on justifiable homicide against aspiring tyrants or — when fear of oligarchical revolution went along with fear of tyranny — against people who attempted to overthrow the democracy⁶. A very interesting case is the decree of Demophantos, passed in the first prytany of the year 410/9, a few months after the fall of the oligarchical governments of the Four Hundred and the Five Thousand and the restoration of Athenian democracy. The decree provided that not only those attempting to establish a tyranny or to overthrow the democracy, but also those holding offices in a non-democratic government could be murdered with impunity (And. I 96-98):

If anyone overthrows the democracy at Athens, or holds any office when the democracy has been overthrown, he shall be an enemy of the Athenians and shall be killed with impunity, and his property shall be confiscated and a tenth part of it devoted to the Goddess; and he who kills or helps to plan the killing of such a man shall be pure and free from guilt. All Athenians shall swear over unblemished sacrifices by tribes and by demes to kill such a man. The oath shall be as follows: «I shall kill, by word and deed, by vote and by my own hand, if I can, anyone who overthrows the democracy at Athens, and anyone who, when the democracy has been overthrown, holds any office thereafter,

⁴ Translation by H. RACKHAM (Aristotle, XX, London–Cambridge [MA] 1952). On this passage see P.J. RHODES, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, p. 220ff.

⁵ New evidence on Greek legislation against tyranny and subversion is now provided by an extremely interesting inscription dating back to the fourth century BC (*ca* 340), the law of Eretria against tyranny and oligarchy published by D. KNOEPFLER, *La loi d'Érétrie contre la tyrannie et l'oligarchie*, *BCH* 125 (2001), p. 195-238; 126 (2002), p. 149-204.

⁶ See M. OSTWALD, *The Athenian Legislation Against Tyranny and Subversion*, *TAPhA* 86 (1955), p. 103-128.

and anyone who sets himself up to be tyrant or helps to set up the tyrant. And if anyone else kills him, I shall consider that man to be pure in the sight of both gods and spirits, because he has killed an enemy of the Athenians, and I will sell all the property of the dead man and give half to the killer and not keep any back. And if anyone dies while killing or attempting to kill any such man, I shall care both for himself and for his children, just as for Harmodius and Aristogeiton and their descendants. And all oaths that have been sworn against the people of Athens, at Athens or on campaigns or anywhere else, I declare null and void». All Athenians shall swear this oath over unblemished sacrifices, in the customary manner, before the Dionysia, and they shall pray that he who keeps his oath may have many blessings, but that for him who breaks it destruction may befall himself and his family⁷.

As its chronological context shows, the decree was conceived to prevent future dangers to Athenian democracy⁸; it differs from more ancient legislation because of its complexity. Whereas ancient law centred on tyranny, the decree of Demophantos focuses on the more recent issue of the subversion of democracy. However, the oath mentions the possible establishment of a tyranny and recalls the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton to whom the murderers of men dangerous for the security of the state are compared. It is noteworthy that even the murder of all those involved in holding offices under undemocratic governments is considered justifiable in the decree. This stipulation of the law seems to be particularly severe, especially against the background of the 403 reconciliation agreement, which granted amnesty to men having held offices under the Thirty Tyrants.

Another relevant piece of legislation, albeit more difficult to contextualize, is the so-called law of Eukrates (337/6) which we retain again from an inscription⁹. The law was proposed by Eukrates, a member of the democratic anti-Macedonian party killed by Antipatros in 322. The text recalls both the law quoted by Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution* 16.10) and the decree of Demophantos, and adds some important references to the role of the Areopagos:

⁷ Translation by D.M. MACDOWELL (Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, Oxford 1962).

⁸ See D.M. MACDOWELL, in Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, p. 134ff.; M. OSTWALD, *Athenian Legislation*, p. 110ff.; ID., *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1986, p. 418.

⁹ See B.D. MERITT, *Greek Inscriptions*, *Hesperia* 21 (1952), p. 355-359, no. 5; *SEG* XII (1955), no. 87; C.J. SCHWENK, *Athens in the Age of Alexander. The Dated Laws and Decrees of the "Lykourgan Era"*, 338-326 BC, Chicago 1985, p. 33-41, no. 6.

If any one rises up against the people for a tyranny or joins in setting up the tyranny or overthrows the people of Athens or the democracy at Athens, whoever kills the man who has done any of these things shall be undefiled (*hosios*). And it shall not be permitted to any of the counsellors of the Council of the Areopagus, if the people or the democracy at Athens is overthrown, to go up to the Areopagus or to sit together in the meeting or to deliberate about anything at all; and if when the people or the democracy at Athens has been overthrown any of the councillors of the Areopagus does go up to the Areopagus or sit together in the meeting or deliberate about anything, he shall be without rights (*atimos*), both himself and his descendants, and his property shall be made public and the tithe given to the Goddess¹⁰.

Eukrates' law resounds Demophantos' decree about justifiable homicide of people who overthrew the democracy and established the tyranny in Athens. However, the former is characterized by references to members of the Areopagos, the ancient council of ex-archons which Ephialtes reduced to a court for blood crimes in 462/1 but that partially recovered its jurisdiction in the fourth century BC; moreover, in this period the council was also at the centre of political projects of antidemocratic nature (like the one proposed by Isocrates in the *Areopagitikos*).

Eukrates' law has been variously interpreted. Many scholars (the editor among them) think that it intended to prevent attacks against democracy by a pro-Macedonian Areopagos. Others, taking their cue from the fact that the Areopagus seems to have taken action in accordance with Demosthenes in the period before the battle of Chaironeia, believe that the law originated among the pro-Macedonian enemies of Demosthenes. Still other scholars think of a context larger than the Athenian one: the law aimed at encouraging the killing of king Philip of Macedon, represented by the democrats as a tyrant *par excellence*; the law, indeed, guaranteed that the murder would not be prosecuted by the Areopagites¹¹. More probably, Eukrates' law embodied the reaction of radical members of the democratic party to the increasing jurisdiction of the Areopagos, promoted by Demosthenes and dating back to 344/3: in this year the procedure of *apophasis* was probably introduced which granted the council the power to investigate and to report a crime in cases of *eisangelia*¹².

¹⁰ Translation by P.J. RHODES – R. OSBORNE, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*, Oxford 2003.

¹¹ For bibliographical references see F. LANDUCCI, *Demostene e il processo arpalico*, in *Processi e politica nel mondo antico* (CISA, 22), Milano 1996, p. 93-106.

¹² See J. ENGELS, *Das Eukratesgesetz und der Prozess der Kompetenzerweiterung des Areopags in der Eubulos- und Lykurgära*, ZPE 74 (1988), p. 181-209, 189-190; R. WAL-

Eisangelia was the usual procedure against people guilty of crimes that threatened the security of the state: subversion of democracy (*katalysis tou demou*), high treason (*prodosia*), the making of proposals against the people's interest by bribed orators. The text of the law is preserved by Hypereides (III 7-8, year 330); scholars do not agree on the date of its enforcement (going back to Solon according to ancient tradition, but more probably dating to Kleisthenes' time) nor on the amendments which were introduced afterwards (in the years 411/10, 403/2 and 360-355)¹³. *Eisangelia* implied a denunciation to the *boule* or to the assembly by any citizen; the offender was liable to severe punishments, among which the death penalty. Therefore, *eisangelia* was the legal procedure against crimes such as the establishment of tyranny or the subversion of democracy, although prosecutions could be pursued even in an extrajudicial way. Judgment on crimes against the security of the state pertained to the *boule* and, most of all, to the assembly and to the people's court; on the contrary, the reform which introduced the procedure of *apophasis* limited their jurisdiction in favour of the Areopagos, in order, as it seems, to cut expenditure for the assembly's activity.

In the light of these remarks, Eukrates' law could have originated in the radical wing of the democratic party, whose members intended to reaffirm the traditional democratic principles threatened by the recent reform: according to these, it was the prerogative of the *demos* sitting in the *boule*, in the assembly and in the court, and not of the Areopagos, to judge cases of subversion of democracy and of high treason. The democratic nature of the law is revealed by the relief that decorates the stele: it represents *Demokratia* crowning the *demos*.

Outside the Athenian context, a very interesting example is provided by the so-called law *de tyrannis* of Ilion (*IvIlion* 25), preserved by an inscription and dated between 310 and 260¹⁴. The text seems to recall

LACE, *The Areopagos Council, to 307 B.C.*, Baltimore–London 1989, p. 113ff.; F. LANDUCCI, *Demostene e il processo arpalico*, p. 93-106. On *apophasis* see E. CARAWAN, *Apophasis and Eisangelia: The Role of the Areopagos in Athenian Political Trials*, *GRBS* 26 (1985), p. 115-140.

¹³ See M.H. HANSEN, *Eisangelia. The Sovereignty of the People's Court in Athens in the Fourth Century B.C. and the Impeachment of Generals and Politicians*, Odense 1975; C. BEARZOT, *Anomalie procedurali ed elusione del nomos nei processi per alto tradimento: eisangelia e asebeia*, in *Processi e politica nel mondo antico* (CISA, 22), Milano 1996, p. 71-92.

¹⁴ See F. LANDUCCI, *La legittimazione della vendetta nell'uccisione del tiranno*, in *Amnistia, perdono e vendetta nel mondo antico* (CISA, 23), Milano 1997, p. 201-216.

Demophantos' decree and Eukrates' law, and provides regulations encouraging justifiable homicide in case of subversion of democracy attempted by an aspiring tyrant or by members of oligarchical movements. In the first part of the inscription (now lost) it was probably stipulated that people who attempted to overthrow the democracy, thus becoming public enemies deprived of legal protection, could be justifiably killed. In the following and better preserved part (ll. 19ff.), the law grants honours to the murderers and provides procedures for prosecuting collaborationists. It is interesting to note that even in the case of Ilion, as in Athens where Demophantos' decree and Eukrates' law coexisted with *eisangelia*, the law provided for both justifiable homicide of the aspiring tyrant (whose murderer is not only considered *hosios* and therefore unpunishable, but also praised as a benefactor) and legal procedures of prosecution against people involved in crimes threatening the security of the state. Similar encouragements to tyrannicide together with alternative procedures of legal prosecution are attested in other Greek cities of Asia Minor: this legislation seems to be connected with Antigonos' and Demetrios' rule, which was characterized by intense democratic propaganda of 'Athenian' inspiration. This may possibly explain references to Athenian legislation *de tyrannide* in the law of Ilion.

* * *

The idea that the murder of a tyrant (or of an aspiring tyrant) was to be considered justifiable, since it was a form of self-defence of the political community against people who did not accept the principles expressed by the *nomos*, underlies the idealization of tyrannicide as an expression of civic values exhibited in particular in the celebration of the Athenian tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. In 514 the young aristocrats killed Hipparchos, brother of Hippias, who was Peisistratos' son and tyrant of Athens: according to the democratic legend, the murder of Hipparchos provoked the fall of the tyranny and the granting of *isonomia* to all Athenians. This is testified by a convivial song (*skolion*) celebrating the tyrannicides, preserved by Athenaeus (XV 695a-b):

Ever shall your fame live in the earth, dearest Harmodius and Aristogeiton, for that ye slew the tyrant, and made Athens a city of equal rights¹⁵.

¹⁵ Translation by Ch.B. GULICK (Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, I-VII, London-Cambridge [MA], 1950-1957).

According to Athenian tradition, the tyrannicides freed Athens from oppression and created the necessary conditions for the birth of democracy. That was the message conveyed by a sculptural group by Antenor (487/6) and, after it was carried off by the Persians, by the new statues by Kritios and Nesiotes (477/6). Harmodios' and Aristogeiton's tomb was in the Kerameikos (Pausanias I 29.15); every year they were commemorated together with war casualties by the polemarchos (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 56.1); tyrannicides' descendants were also granted certain privileges (*sitesis, proedria, ateleia*)¹⁶.

In reality, however, the more ancient and authoritative historiographical tradition, represented by Herodotus and Thucydides, described these events in a different way; they made it their special point to deny the correlation between the murder of Hipparchos and the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny¹⁷. Herodotus (V 55-56, 62ff.) recalls that after Harmodios and Aristogeiton had murdered the tyrant's brother Hipparchos, Hippias' rule lasted for another four years and became increasingly harsh; the historian goes on to explain that the tyranny was overthrown by the Spartans and by the exiled Alcmaeonids. Thucydides presents a story to the same extent (I 20.1-2; VI 53.3-59): Harmodios and Aristogeiton had planned to kill Hippias but feared to be denounced; in any case, they wanted to achieve something great, and they murdered Hipparchos, upon whom they came. The murder seems to have been accomplished for private reasons (Harmodios refused the advances of Hipparchos and the latter, in revenge, offended the former's sister and insulted the honour of his family), although the democratic legend, as reflected in the later tradition and particularly in the Attic orators, emphasizes its political significance. Like Herodotus, Thucydides is aware of the fact that the tyranny was actually overthrown by the Spartans and the Alcmaeonids (VI 53.3, 59.4). He confirms, in turn, that after Hipparchos' death the tyranny went on for another four years, pressing even harder on the Athenians (VI 59.2 & 4).

It may be safely concluded that the killing of the tyrants happened for private reasons and a personal grudge among young aristocrats: it lacked political significance in the purposes of the murderers as well as in its direct consequences. The *isonomia* recalled in the *skolion* does not mean 'democracy', as in Herodotus (III 80); on the contrary, it expresses the

¹⁶ See C. GAFFORINI, *I tirannicidi e i caduti in guerra*, in *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori. La morte in combattimento nell'antichità* (CISA, 16), Milano 1990, p. 37-45.

¹⁷ The sources are collected in M. BERTI, *Fra tirannide e democrazia. Ipparco di Carmo e il destino dei Pisistratidi ad Atene*, Alessandria 2004, p. 37ff.

aristocratic claim to share the political power usurped by the tyrant and to enjoy equal rights. But, in spite of the efforts made by the historians Herodotus and Thucydides to dispose of the myth, the democratic legend prevailed and transformed the killing of Hipparchos into a political murder. The tyrannicide became the 'foundation myth' of Athenian democracy. Themistocles perhaps played some part in its creation, since he probably encouraged the heroic 'cult' of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The statues of the heroes, at the centre of the *agora*, reminded the people of the noble act which had initiated the Athenian democratic experience, and promoted it as a model of civic conduct and as an identity factor¹⁸.

Greek history recalls several murders of tyrants and it is impossible to deal with all cases here. Especially worth mention are the murders of Leontiades of Thebes (379) and of Iason of Pherae (370): they highlight the full legitimacy that was attributed to tyrannicide.

By 382 the Theban oligarchical leader Leontiades had handed over the Kadmeia, the akropolis of the city, to the Spartan Phoebidas in order to take control of Thebes under Spartan protection, and had Ismenias, the leader of the 'nationalist' party executed (Xenophon, *Hellenica* V 2.30, 35-36); he was himself finally killed in 379. His murder initiated the liberation of Thebes from Spartan control. The initiative was taken by Theban citizens who got in touch with some exiled Theban democrats in Athens. Led by Pelopidas, they entered Thebes at night and killed Leontiades and the other members of the oligarchical government unawares; then, they called the people to arms, expelled the Spartan garrison and established a democratic government.

One may wonder why in our tradition there is no trace of any disapproval of these treacherous murders. An explanation for this may be found in the way in which all our sources represent Leontiades and his friends. The local, democratic tradition voiced in Plutarch (*Life of Pelopidas* 5-6) portrays them as pro-Spartan tyrants who had enslaved their fellow citizens and destroyed the *patrios politeia*, the ancient constitution of the city: by representing the members of the oligarchical party as tyrants the sources quite obviously intended to legitimate their murder. Even

¹⁸ See H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Harmodios und Aristogeiton, die Tyrannenmörder von 514 v.Chr.*, in A. DEMANDT, *Das Attentat in der Geschichte*, p. 15-35; A. MÖLLER, *Hipparchos. Athen, Juli 514 v.Chr.*, in M. SOMMER, *Politische Morde*, p. 29-36. Political motives in the killing of Hipparchos are highlighted by R. GANCI, *La morte di Ipparco*, "Ορμος 2 (2000), p. 75-94.

Xenophon, who is far from siding with the Theban democrats, repeats the accusation that Leontiades and his friends «had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves» (*Hellenica* V 4.1).

Similar conclusions can be drawn regarding the murder of Jason of Pherae. Between 385 and 370 he had reunified Thessaly under his leadership and had laid the foundations of his policy by exploiting Thessalian economic, military, and demographic resources. Dealing with the post-Leuktra events of 371 when Jason proposed to act as a mediator between Thebans and Spartans, Xenophon describes the former as «the greatest of the men of his time» (*Hellenica* VI 4.28). Immediately afterwards, Jason claimed control of Delphoi for the Thessalians, and so showed his ambition to become *hegemon* of the Greeks replacing the Spartans with the support of the Delphic Amphictyony; he intended to lead the Greeks in a war against the Persians. In 370, at the height of his power, Jason was murdered by seven young people; five of them were able to flee and, according to Xenophon, «in most of the Greek cities to which they came they were honoured. This fact, indeed, made it plain that the Greeks had conceived a very great fear lest Jason should become tyrant» (*Hellenica* VI 4.32). The threat of a tyranny ruling the whole of Greece gave full legitimacy to Jason's murder. Delphoi may have had some role in spreading the view of his murderers as 'tyrannicides' deserving to be honoured as benefactors.

* * *

The legislation on justifiable homicide of tyrants and of people who attempted to overthrow the democracy as well as the cases of 'tyrannicide' considered above lead us to conclude that political murder was not always condemned in ancient Greece. In some cases, it was seen as the legitimate response of the people against individuals (like the tyrant and the aspiring tyrant) who placed themselves above the *nomos*, i.e. the principles which regulated the *polis* and granted its citizens *isonomia* and legal protection. In the 'constitutional debate' in Herodotus (III 80), one of the characteristic features of tyrannical behaviour is contempt of the *nomos* (*anomia*):

Insolence (*hybris*) is created in him by the good things to hand, while from birth envy (*phthonos*) is rooted in man. Acquiring the two he possesses complete evil; for being satiated he does many reckless things,

some from insolence, some from envy. And yet an absolute ruler (*tyrannos*) ought to be free of envy, having all good things; but he becomes the opposite of this towards his citizens; he envies the best who thrive and live, and is pleased by the worst of his fellows; and he is the best confidant of slander. Of all men he is the most inconsistent; for if you admire him modestly he is angry that you do not give him excessive attention, but if one gives him excessive attention he is angry because one is a flatter. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he upsets the ancestral ways and rapes women and kills indiscriminately¹⁹.

People infringing the *nomos*, or refusing to accept it, can be similarly deprived of the protection ensured by the law, if the community revokes it in a self-defence reaction. Here lies legitimacy for political murder: the members of the community can resort to political murder when facing an attack to their security, such as the attempt to establish a tyranny and to overthrow the democracy.

II. ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL LEADERS

It is easy to recognize that political murder had a role in Greek factional strife: it was the easiest way to dispose of rivals to political leadership and to prevent political opponents from organizing themselves and from acting efficiently. From this perspective, political murder is an actual form of 'terrorism', aimed at paralysing the political action of leaderless men as proved by clear, however limited, cases in Athens.

We have scanty evidence on the backstage manœuvres that led to the murder of Stesagoras' son Kimon²⁰ by killers hired by Peisistratos' sons (Herodotus VI 103). The act probably originated, like the tyrannicide, from personal conflicts and desire for revenge among aristocrats. The first significant case is, in fact, the murder of Ephialtes, the democratic leader killed in 461, immediately after the reform of the Areopagos.

The background intrigues of this murder are not recoverable because of the disagreement of our sources. Antiphon (V 68; cf. Thucydides I 107.4 & 6) states that the killers were never found and rules out the possibility of identifying the political instigators of the act. Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution* 25.4) speaks of an oligarchical plot and also

¹⁹ Translation by A.D. GODLEY (Herodotus, I-IV, London–Cambridge [MA] 1920–1925).

²⁰ Father of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon.

mentions the alleged killer's name, Aristodikos of Tanagra. Plutarch (*Life of Pericles* 10) even reports the rumour according to which the murder of Ephialtes had been instigated by Pericles who aimed at taking his place at the head of the democratic party: as may be noted, some modern scholars do not exclude this hypothesis, sustaining that the murder may have actually originated within the democratic party. In any case, the murderer intended to decapitate the democratic party in order to either disorientate it in a particularly difficult moment or to pave the way to a new *prostates*²¹.

After the murder of Ephialtes, Athens knew a long period of calm. We do not hear of political murders until 412, when Hyperbolos, the Athenian demagogue ostracized in 417 and the enemy of Alcibiades (Thucydides VIII 73.3), was killed during an oligarchical *coup d'état* in Samos. The murder of Hyperbolos, carried out by Samian oligarchs supported by some Athenians among whom the *strategos* Charminos, is presented by Thucydides as a *pistis*, a proof of loyalty demanded from the members of oligarchical clubs; more probably, however, the killing intended to eliminate a man who could be a leader for Samian democrats (he had perhaps purposely gone to Samos after his ostracism). The connections between Samian oligarchical plotters and antidemocratic Athenians seem to suggest that Hyperbolos was killed for being considered a dangerous, possibly influential leader for the Samian democrats. A similar reason probably explains the murder of Androkles (one among the *prostatai* of the *demos* and enemy of Alcibiades) and of other democrats which took place in Athens during the organization of the *coup d'état* of 411 (Thucydides VIII 65.2). Thucydides emphasizes the secrecy of these murders (*krypha*) which certainly contributed to a sense of insecurity among the people as these events were rather uncommon in Athens²². The murders of both Hyperbolos and Androkles, planned in the oligarchical clubs, are part of a process of a constitutional *metabole*. Their purpose was most probably to eliminate political leaders who could support the people in organizing their resistance against the oligarchical conspirators.

²¹ See L. PICCIRILLI L., *L'assassinio di Efiante*, ASNP 17 (1987), p. 9-17; ID., *Efiante*, Genova 1988, p. 71ff.

²² See G. CUNIBERTI, *La presenza ateniese a Samo e le uccisioni di Iperbolo e Androkles nell'VIII libro di Tucidide*, AHS 14 (1997), p. 53-80, 72ff.; ID., *Iperbolo ateniese infame*, Bologna 2000, p. 140ff. (cf. particularly 74 and 142: these murders provoked «una sorta di vuoto di *prostasia*»). See also C. BEARZOT, *Atene nel 411 e nel 404. Tecniche del colpo di stato*, in *Terror et pavor. Violenza, intimidazione, clandestinità nel mondo antico* [Atti del Convegno, Cividale del Friuli 22-24 settembre 2005], Pisa 2006, p. 21-64.

A different background can be intimated for the murder of the oligarch Phrynichos, perpetrated by a group of foreigners, among whom Thrasybulos of Kalidon and Apollodoros of Megara, at the time of the fall of the Four Hundred; the people granted honours for the murderers after the restoration of democracy in February 410 (cf. ML 85, dating back to the spring of 409; cf. Lysias 13.70-72). The fourth-century tradition, reported in Lykourgos (*Against Leokrates* 112-114), seems to consider the murder of Phrynichos as the people's revenge against one of the oligarchs responsible for the establishment of the Four Hundred. More probably the murder, which Thucydides (VIII 92.2) sets in the context of Theramenes' and Aristokrates' reaction against the Four Hundred, was inspired by Theramenes and Kritias (the proposer of the decree indicting the dead Phrynichos for treason) and reflected a 'showdown' among oligarchs. In this case, personal antagonism and desire for revenge prevails over the intention of eliminating a dangerous leader. A common feature between the murder of Phrynichos and the two cases discussed above could be the enmity between all the victims and Alcibiades²³.

Outside Athens there are several noteworthy cases: among these, that of Lykomedes of Mantinea. Lykomedes was a member of the privileged class of Mantinea who had embraced the democratic cause against Spartan interference; after the battle of Leuktra, he promoted the second synoecism of Mantinea and a new development of Arkadian federalism²⁴, and was one of the founders of Megalopolis. Xenophon (*Hellenica* VII 1.22-24) reports Lykomedes' speech addressed to the Arkadians. On the grounds that they were «the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies», he claimed for them the hegemony of the Peloponnesos: after the battle of Leuktra had put an end to the Spartan threat, he spoke against the Theban interference in the Peloponnesos, expressing the fear that Peloponnesian peoples might find «a new set of Lacedaemonians» in the Thebans.

²³ See C. BEARZOT, *A proposito del decreto ML 85 per Trasibulo uccisore di Frinico e i suoi complici*, RIL 115 (1981), p. 289-303; M.J. OSBORNE, *Naturalization in Athens*, II, Brussels 1982, p. 17ff.; EAD., *Lisia e la tradizione su Teramene. Commento storico alle orazioni XII e XIII del corpus lysiacum* (Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum, 10), Milano 1997, p. 312ff.

²⁴ Cfr. Diod. XV 59.1: «About the same time, Lycomedes of Tegea prevailed upon the Arcadians to form a single confederacy (ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθῆναι) with a common council (κοινὴ ἔχειν σύνοδον) to consist of ten thousand men empowered to decide issues of war and peace». Translation by C.H. OLDFATHER (Diodorus, I-XI, London-Cambridge [MA] 1976).

According to his program, in 366 Lykomedes opposed the conclusion of the common peace that Pelopidas had negotiated with King Artaxerxes in Susa, and began to look at Athens as a possible ally (Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII 1.39-40). In the same year Lykomedes offered a defensive alliance to the Athenians: although his proposals were met with resistance in the Athenian assembly, the alliance was concluded, and this certainly weakened the role of Thebes as supporter of the federalist movements in the Peloponnesos (Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII 4.2). In any case, Lykomedes found death while returning from Athens; he was probably killed by Arkadian exiles of the oligarchical faction (Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII 4.3)²⁵. His promotion of Arkadian federalism and his intention to join Athens against both Sparta and Thebes had exposed him to the violent reaction of those among the Arkadians who preferred autonomy to federalism and intended to maintain close relations with the Spartans. In the Arkadian league, split between Mantinea and Tegea, oligarchical and democratic parties, pro-Spartan and pro-Theban factions, the strong leadership of Lykomedes, intent on aggrandizing the role of the Arkadians in the Peloponnesos and on seeking Athenian support, must have provoked irritation among many of his fellow countrymen, who did not hesitate to eliminate him.

* * *

As Ford has emphasized, the resort to legal action (often without following the normal procedure) in order to eliminate political enemies may be sometimes considered an alternative to political murder. The Athenian history provides many examples to that extent. After the fall of the Four Hundred in 411 the oligarchs Antiphon and Archeptolemos were charged with treason and condemned to death (Onomakles, charged with his companions, was acquitted). Their trial must be placed under the oligarchy of the Five Thousand: although Thucydides speaks of popular initiative (VIII 68.2: but the text is uncertain), the most probable cause is a regulation of accounts among oligarchs, in the wake of the dissension opposing Theramenes and his colleagues on the subject of relations with Sparta (Lysias 12.67; [Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators* 833a ff.)²⁶.

²⁵ See H. BECK, *Das Attentat auf Lykomedes von Mantinea, Tekmeria* 3 (1997), p. 1-6.

²⁶ On this case, see M.H. HANSEN, *Eisangelia*, p. 113ff., nos. 135-137; C. BEARZOT, *Lisia e la tradizione su Teramene*, p. 185ff. Also the trial against Peisander must perhaps be dated in the same period: Thucydides (VIII 98.1) sets the exile of the oligarch, who

These cases tend to show that physical elimination was not uncommon even among members of a political faction: by the way, in 404/3 Theramenes, disagreeing with the Thirty's methods on matters of government, fell himself victim to a 'judicial' murder by Critias.

Even more interesting because of their preventive rather than punitive nature are the following cases of those democratic leaders, who, in the span of time between the battle of Aigospotamoi and the establishment of the Thirty Tyrants (405/4), were eliminated through legal action in order to facilitate the peace with Sparta and the *coup d'état* of the Thirty²⁷.

According to Lysias' speeches *Against Agoratos* (13.5-17) and *Against Nicomachos* (30.10-14), Kleophon, who promoted the anti-Spartan resistance after Aigospotamoi and denounced the antidemocratic plots, was the victim of a judicial plot carried out during Theramenes' three-month exploratory mission concerning the peace negotiations with Lysander (Xenophon, *Hellenica* II 2.16). In comparison with murder, legal action had the advantage of involving the people in prosecution and condemnation, and of making them responsible for the capital punishment. This method had already been successfully tested against the *strategoï* in the Arginousai trial, organized by Theramenes in order to eliminate part of the democratic leadership (Xenophon, *Hellenica* I 7)²⁸. Kleophon was charged with an offence regarding his allegedly improper behaviour as a soldier. Lysias, however, believed that he was attacked under false pretences, the actual reason being Kleophon's public opposition to the conclusion of the peace with Sparta and his charges against the *boule* as an associate of Theramenes and of the other antidemocrats. The irregularity of the procedure — a special law was passed allowing the *boule*, irritated with Kleophon for his attacks, to take part in the trial — clearly reveals that Kleophon's enemies actually aimed at getting rid of a dangerous opponent who could become an perceptive popular leader (cf. Lysias 13.7; 30.11).

After the murder of Kleophon a judicial attack was launched against the democratic *strategoï* and *taxiarchoi* (Dionysodoros, Strombichides,

wanted to escape a condemnation, «immediately» after the fall of the Five Thousand; besides, the background of the trial fits well in this context. See M.J. JAMESON, *Sophocles and the Four Hundred*, *Historia* 20 (1971), p. 541-568.

²⁷ See C. BEARZOT, *Atene nel 411 e nel 404*, p. 42ff.

²⁸ On the Arginousai trial see P.A. TUCI, *La boulé nel processo agli strateghi della battaglia delle Arginuse: questioni procedurali e tentativi di manipolazione*, in *Syngraphé. Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica*, 3, Como 2002, p. 51-85 (with bibliography).

Nikias, Nikomenes, Eukrates, Aristophanes, Menestratos, including many other citizens) who opposed Theramenes on the constitutional implications of the peace treaty with Sparta (cf. Lysias 13.13ff.). The trial must be set at the time when the preparatives were made for the popular assembly which established the government of the Thirty Tyrants (Xenophon, *Hellenica* II 3.2).

According to Lysias, Strombichides, Dionysodoros and their companions expressed their disagreement with Theramenes after his return from Sparta. The bone of contention was the constitutional clause provided in the treaty according to which Athens should be governed *kata ta patria*. However willing to compromise over the treaty as a whole, the democrats perceived this particular clause as a real threat to the subsistence of Athenian democracy (cf. Lysias 13.15). Being aware of possible public resistance to their plans, Theramenes and his supporters decided to eliminate the opponents before the decisive assembly:

so they resolved, before the Assembly met to consider the peace, to involve these men first in calumnious prosecutions, in order that there should be none to take up the defence of your people at the meeting (Lysias 13.17)²⁹.

The aim of Theramenes' plan, according to Lysias, was to eliminate any opposition in the assembly by depriving the people of its leaders.

The trial was initiated by Theokritos (cf. Lysias 13.19) who prompted a denunciation to the *boulé* by Agoratos and consequently an *eisanghelia* to the assembly by the *boulé*. In this way the *boulé* aimed at involving the people in the trial (cf. Lysias 13.32): the assembly decided that the *strategoi* and the *taxiarchoi* had to be judged by a people's court of two thousand jurors (cf. Lysias 13.32). In Lysias' account the imprisonment of the democrats brought the crisis to a head: after Lysander had entered the Peiraeus, the ships were handed over to the Spartans, the walls demolished, and the Thirty Tyrants established (cf. Lysias 13.34). Lysias emphasizes the direct relation between the elimination of the democratic opponents and the fate of Athens after the signing of the treaty negotiated by Theramenes: once the democratic leadership was annihilated, the leaderless people became incapable of reaction. The trial ended under the Thirty (cf. Lysias 13.35-37) and it was judged not by a people's court, as the assembly had required, but by the *boulé*, whose members had been

²⁹ Translation by W.R.M. LAMB (Lysias, London-Cambridge [MA] 1930).

personally chosen by the Thirty; other measures of intimidation were carried out, such as the presence of the Thirty on the seats of the prytanes and their request of a verdict by open vote. All the accused were condemned to death.

In 405/4 the antidemocrats under the leadership of Theramenes thus continued to systematically eliminate the democratic opposition, starting from Kleophon (during Theramenes' mission) up to the democratic representatives accused by Agoratos (before the assembly on the peace treaty was summoned). It is worth recalling with Lysias that it was indeed the confessed aim of the democratic leaders to oppose Theramenes' plans that caused their elimination:

These men perceived that, although nominally we had the promise of peace, in actual fact it was the dissolution of the democracy, and they refused to authorize such a proceeding (Lysias 13.15).

The Athenian cases we have considered so far should not merely be explained as a result of the well-known Athenian fondness for trials. It is important to realize that such a method of political struggle was largely employed in other parts of the Greek world. A significant example is the trial of Ismenias of Thebes. According to Xenophon (*Hellenica* V 2.30, 35-36), after the Spartans took possession of the Theban acropolis, the Kadmeia, and the pro-Spartan party led by Leontiades took power in Thebes, Ismenias was arrested as *polemopoion*, put on trial and condemned to death by an international court controlled by the Spartans. Xenophon cannot be suspected of bias in favour of Ismenias: although he was able to purge himself of some charges, for example that of being pro-Persian and of having caused troubles in Greece, Xenophon notices that he failed to persuade the court against the generic charge that he was not a man of great (*megalopragmon*) and evil undertakings (*kakopragmon*). Xenophon shows his low opinion of Leontiades by considering him a traitor and an overzealous servant of the Spartans. Thus, the trial of Ismenias reveals itself to be a specious legal action aimed at eliminating a dangerous political leader who could organize the people's opposition against the newly established oligarchic government.

* * *

On this second point we may conclude, first of all, that the physical elimination of political enemies always aims at annihilating the opposing lead-

ership³⁰, and consequently at disorientating political opposition. Such an aim seems to be particularly relevant in cases in which the oligarchical party is plotting against the people: the events of 411 and 404 show, as a matter of fact, that once the people is deprived from its leaders it proves unable to react and liable to intimidation. Personal hatred and revenge can be motives for tyrannicide, just as for the murder of Hipparchos and for the killing of Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. In the latter case we must mention, in addition to the political grounds, the indignation of Alexander's wife, Thebae, at her husband's cruelty and, apparently, also at his sexual advances towards her younger brother Peitholaos (cf. Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas* 35.4-12); according to Xenophon (*Hellenica* VI 4.37), Alexander was also planning a new marriage. Family conflicts are frequently associated with strictly political reasons in the 'dynastic' murders, like those common at the Macedonian court; on the contrary, political conflicts in the *poleis* rarely provoked murders originating from personal quarrels (although we can find some similar cases in the oligarchical faction). Political motives — annihilation of political opposition — largely prevail.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that political murder is very rare in Athens, where we have no evidence of such cases in the fifty years between 461 and 412. Modern scholars have invoked different reasons for this fact, such as the practice to resort to trials, ostracism (which permitted to remove citizens from the political scene who were considered as aspiring tyrants or a threat for Athenian democracy, expelling them from the city for ten years), or moderation by the Athenians³¹. Ostracism can surely reflect Athenian moderation in civic life³²; however, procedures similar to Athenian ostracism are also known for Argos and Syracuse, often devastated by violent internal struggles that could not be mitigated by such procedures³³. It may therefore be suggested that the internal cohesion of the Athenian political community reduced the number of political murders. The Athenians expressed this internal cohesion through the myth of autochthony, *i.e.* the belief to be born directly from the earth

³⁰ As already highlighted by G.M. CALHOUN, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*, Roma 1964 (= Austin 1913), p. 111.

³¹ Thus F.L. FORD, *Political Murder*, p. 59.

³² See S. FORSDYKE, *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy: The Politics of Exclusion in Ancient Greece*, Princeton 2005.

³³ On Argos see C. BEARZOT – F. LANDUCCI (edd.), *Argo. Una democrazia diversa (Contributi di storia antica, 4)*, Milano 2007; on Syracuse see M. GIANGIULIO, *Gli equilibri difficili della democrazia in Sicilia: il caso di Siracusa*, in *Venticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della democrazia*, Paestum 1998, p. 107-124.

and, hence, not constitute a citizen body consisting of different people immigrated into Attica from abroad³⁴. So Athens, in comparison with other Greek cities, can claim both a deeply homogeneous civic body and a harmonious civic life which find their highest expression in the democratic constitution. This is emphasized by Thucydides (II 36.1) in the Periclean *Epitaphios*:

First of all. I will begin with our ancestors, since it is right and also appropriate on such an occasion as the present that the honor of this remembrance should be given to them. For it is the same men, always occupying the land through the succession of generations, who have handed it down in freedom until the present time because of their bravery³⁵.

In the same way, Lysias emphasizes the consequences of autochthony for freedom and democracy in Athens in his *Epitaphios* (2.17-18)³⁶:

Now in many ways it was natural to our ancestors, moved by a single resolve, to fight the battles of justice: for the very beginning of their life was just. They had not been collected, like most nations, from every quarter, and had not settled in a foreign land after driving out its people: they were born of the soil, and possessed in one and the same country their mother and their fatherland. They were the first and the only people in that time to drive out the ruling classes of their state and to establish a democracy, believing the liberty of all to be the strongest bond of agreement; by sharing with each other the hopes born of their perils they had freedom of soul in their civic life.

Finally, in his *Menexenos* Plato highlights that political and legal equality among Athenian citizens is a direct consequence of their equality of birth (238e–239a: the passage is probably ironic, but it undoubtedly reflects commonplaces in Athenian public opinion):

And the cause of this our polity lies in our equality of birth. For whereas all other States are composed of a heterogeneous collection of all sorts of people, so that their polities also are heterogeneous, tyrannies as well as oligarchies, some of them regarding one another as slaves, others as masters; we and our people, on the contrary, being all

³⁴ See C. BEARZOT, *Autoctonia, rifiuto della mescolanza, civilizzazione: da Isocrate a Megastene*, in *Incontri tra culture nell'Oriente ellenistico e romano* [Atti del Convegno, Ravenna 11-12 marzo 2005], forthcoming.

³⁵ Translation by S. LATTIMORE (Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, Indianapolis–Cambridge 1998).

³⁶ On Lysias' *Epitaphios* see C. BEARZOT, *La "vittoria dei barbari" nell'Epitafio di Lisia (II, 59)*, in *Vivere da democratici. Studi su Lisia e la democrazia ateniese*, Roma 2007, p. 177-198.

born of one mother, claim to be neither the slaves of one another nor the masters; rather does our natural birth-equality (*isogonia kata physin*) drive us to seek lawfully legal equality (*isonomia kata nomon*), and to yield to one another in no respect save in reputation for virtue and understanding³⁷.

This cohesion of Athenian citizenship, which originated also from the 'merging' of various people by Kleisthenes' reform (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 21.2)³⁸, gave rise to an elitist mentality. The myth of autochthony emphasized racial purity and it also found expression in Pericles' well-known citizenship law of 451/50 which limited Athenian citizenship to sons of both Athenian father and mother. At any rate, Athenian civic cohesion had a significant role, in my opinion, in controlling civil struggles, which elsewhere found expression in severe political and social fractures.

III. MASS MURDERS

Such political and social fractures often caused mass murders in Greek cities. This phenomenon was so frequent that its complete survey in this paper is impossible³⁹. I will confine myself to a few observations.

As far as Athens is concerned, something can be said regarding the time of the crisis of democracy. In 411, at the time of the *coup d'état* of the Four Hundred, oligarchical revolution and re-establishment of democracy did not imply mass murder. Thucydides reports the murder of Androkles and of other democrats (VIII 65.2), and the elimination, «sudden and in some convenient way», of those who opposed the program of the oligarchical plotters (VIII 66.2). According to Thucydides himself (VIII 70.2), after the establishment of their tyranny, the Four Hundred killed «certain men, a rather small number, whom they found it convenient to have out of way, imprisoned others, and also banished some»;

³⁷ Translation by W.R.M. LAMB (Plato, I-XII, London–Cambridge [MA] 1925).

³⁸ See G. ANDERSON, *The Athenian Experiment. Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508-490 B.C.*, Ann Arbor 2003.

³⁹ For such an overview see A. LINTOTT, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City*, Baltimore 1981, and H.-J. GEHRKE, *Stasis. Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* (Vestigia, 35), München 1985 (p. 234ff. for forms of physical violence, among which murders); ID., *La "stasis"*, in *I Greci. Storia cultura arte società*, 2. *Una storia greca*, II. *Definizione*, Torino 1997, p. 453-480.

the historian seems to minimize the damages caused by the Four Hundred to the Athenian city and to emphasize the limited number of the victims⁴⁰.

In 404 the situation was certainly more serious. But the Thirty Tyrants took the greatest responsibility for the killing of a great number of citizens and metics by direct or judicial murder, often perpetrated for material gain and not for political reasons. According to differently biased sources, such as Lysias (XII 5) on the one hand and Xenophon (*Hellenica* II 3.12ff.) and Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution* 35.3) on the other, repression was very hard and caused about 1500 victims (cf. Isocrates VII 66-67, XX 11; Aeschines II 77, III 235). This is actually consistent with the opinion of Kritias who, against Theramenes' call for moderation, pleaded the case of the political necessity to have recourse to violence in eliminating the democratic political opponents who were especially dangerous in Athens, because the city was so densely populated and the people were accustomed to live in freedom (Xenophon, *Hellenica* II 3.24-26)⁴¹.

Despite these few cases, we must admit that there is no tendency to mass murder in Athens: this is proved by the moderation showed by the people after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants. After this cruel tyranny, the people did not take revenge and observed the amnesty proclaimed by Thrasyboulos after the restoration of democracy in 403, even though the reconciliation agreement met with some opposition among the democrats⁴². This confirms the serene atmosphere of daily relations highlighted in Pericles' *Epitaphios* (II 37.2) as one of the most important characteristics of Athenian democracy:

In public life we conduct ourselves with freedom and also, regarding that suspicion of others because of their everyday habitus, without getting angry at a neighbor if he does something so as to suit himself, and without wearing expressions of vexation, that inflict no punishment yet cause of stress. But while we associate in private without undue pressure, in public we are especially law abiding because of fear

It is worth noting that the situation is very different in other Greek democratic cities such as Argos. Unlike Athens, Argos was a weak and

⁴⁰ See C. BEARZOT, *Esilii, deportazioni ed emigrazioni forzate in Atene sotto regimi non democratici*, in *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (CISA, 20), Milano 1994, p. 141-167, 142ff.; EAD., *La XX orazione pseudolisiana e la "prima restaurazione" della democrazia nel 410*, in *Studium atque urbanitas. Miscellanea Daris* (Papyrologica Lupiensia, 9), Galatina (LE) 2001, p. 85-99.

⁴¹ See C. BEARZOT, *Esilii, deportazioni ed emigrazioni forzate*, p. 145ff.

⁴² On the amnesty see Th.C. LOENING, *The Reconciliation Agreement of 403/2 in Athens. Its Content and Application* (Hermes Einzelschriften, 53), Stuttgart 1987; for the

disunited democracy, built on the forced assimilation of people of lower status (perhaps even of different ethnic origin) and often undermined by a strenuous oligarchical faction⁴³. So, in Argos the *demos* was always considered inferior, perhaps also because of the ethnic divisions typical of the Peloponnesos and unknown in Attica, whereas in Athens the unity of the civic body is part of collective consciousness and finds its expression even at an institutional level, since Kleisthenes' and perhaps also since Solon's reform. In particular, in Argos political and social conflicts periodically caused bloody civil struggles: the oligarchic revolution and the democratic restoration in 417 provoked an outbreak of violence⁴⁴ while the so-called *skytalisimos* of 370/69 caused 1200 or perhaps even 1500 victims⁴⁵. Describing the state of crisis of the Greek cities to Philip II in 346, Isocrates speaks of the home situation in Argos in the following terms (*To Philip* 51-52):

They have been in a state of war with their neighbors from the day they founded their city, just as have the Lacedaemonians; but there is this difference, that the neighbors of the Lacedaemonians are weaker than they, while those of the Argives are stronger — a condition which all would admit to be the greatest of misfortunes. [...] But what is most deplorable of all is that, during the intervals when their enemies cease from harrying them, they themselves put to death the most eminent and wealthy of their citizens; and they have more pleasure in doing this than any other people have in slaying their foes⁴⁶.

This tendency to recur to the *phonoí emphylioi*, which rests on an irrecconcilable social dividing lines, makes Argos' civic life very different from the peaceful atmosphere of Athenian society.

debate on its application see C. BEARZOT, *Lisia e la tradizione su Teramene*, p. 11ff., 86 ff.; EAD., *Lisia e l'amnistia: lo sfondo politico dell'orazione XXV*, in *Amnistia, perdono e vendetta nel mondo antico* (CISA, 23), Milano 1997, p. 59-77; EAD., *Criteri alternativi di applicazione dell'amnistia in Lisia*, in *Responsabilità, vendetta e perdono nel mondo antico* (CISA, 24), Milano 1998, p. 111-144; A. WOLPERT, *Remembering Defeat: Civil War and Civic Memory in Ancient Athens*, Baltimore–London 2002.

⁴³ See C. BEARZOT, *I douloi/perioikoi di Argo: per una riconsiderazione della tradizione letteraria*, *IncidAntico* 3 (2005), p. 61-82.

⁴⁴ See Thuc. V 76.2, 81-84; Diod. XII 80.1-3; Aen. Tact. 17.2-4; Paus. II 20.2. For further information see E. DAVID, *The Oligarchic Revolution in Argos, 417 B.C.*, *AC* 55 (1986), p. 113-124.

⁴⁵ See Diod. XV 57.3-58; Plut., *Mor.* 814b. For further information see E. DAVID, *Aeneas Tacticus 11, 7-10 and the Argive Revolution of 370 B.C.*, *AJPh* 107 (1986), p. 343-349.

⁴⁶ Translation by G. NORLIN (Isocrates, London–Cambridge [MA] 1980).

Finally, it is worth recalling the *stasis* of Corcyra in the years 427-425, a particularly interesting example, notorious for both its violence and the attention that Thucydides has devoted to it. An attempt to overthrow the democracy on the island, triggered by the murder of the pro-Athenian Pythias, led to a civil war which caused 1500 victims and annihilated the oligarchical faction⁴⁷. Thucydides (III 81.4-5) gives us some idea of the acts of violence which occurred during the civil struggle:

The Corcyreans butchered those fellow-citizens they regarded as enemies, charging them with putting down the democracy, but some also died because of personal hatred and others at the hands of those who owed them money. Every form of death prevailed, and whatever is likely in such situations happened — and still worse. Fathers killed sons, men were dragged from the sanctuaries and killed beside them, and some were even walled up in the sanctuary of Dionysos and died there.

In III 82-83 Thucydides proposes general remarks on *stasis* and emphasizes two aspects of the phenomenon. First, he highlights the relation with external war: the *prostatai* of the *demos*, divided into pro-Athenian and pro-Spartan factions, had no pretexts to appeal to external powers in time of peace, while

during war, with alliances available to both factions for damaging their opponents and at the same time strengthening themselves, occasions for bringing in outsiders were readily found by those wishing to make any change in government (82.1).

War (*polemos*) is a powerful factor of *stasis*. As a «violent teacher» (*biaios didaskalos*) it takes away the easy supply of daily wants and stirs popular passions; thus, mutual relations in the polis are distorted (82.2).

Secondly, Thucydides focuses on the reversal of values caused by *stasis*: «And in self-justification men inverted the usual verbal evaluations of actions» (82.4).

Thucydides' words, which have been thoroughly discussed by modern scholars⁴⁸, focus on the fading of common values. The meaning of words remains the same; it is the evaluation of the actions indicated by words that are liable to change. So,

⁴⁷ For the sources see H.-J. GEHRKE, *Stasis*, p. 88ff.

⁴⁸ For bibliographic references see C. BEARZOT, *Stasis e polemos nel 404*, in *Il pensiero sulla guerra nel mondo antico* (CISA, 27), Milano 2001, p. 19-36.

irrational recklessness was now considered courageous commitment, hesitation while looking to the future was high-styled cowardice, moderation was a cover for lack of manhood, and circumspection meant inaction, while senseless anger now helped to define a true man, and deliberation for security was a specious excuse for dereliction. The man of violent temper was always credible, anyone opposing him was suspect. The intriguer who succeeded was intelligent, anyone who detected a plot was still more clever, but a man who made provisions to avoid both alternatives was undermining his party and letting the opposition terrorize him. Quite simply, one was praised for outracing everyone else to commit a crime — and for encouraging a crime by someone who had never before considered one (82.4-5).

The predominance of club links on blood relationship (82.6), the establishment of a revenge ideology (82.7), and the growth of ambition (*pleonexia*, *philotimia*) deeply pervert the nature of political relations:

For the leading men in the cities, through their emphasis on an attractive slogan for each side — political equality for the masses, the moderation of aristocracy — treated as their prize the public interest to which they paid lip service (82.8).

The neglect of common interest in favour of personal gain provokes neglect of justice and of civic interest: power becomes the sole aim.

By these general remarks on *stasis*, Thucydides aims at giving a key to the reading not only of the Corcyrean episode, but also of all Greek events of the last quarter of the fifth century:

Later the rest of Hellas, almost without exception, was also in turmoil [...] So the condition of the cities was civil war, and where it came later, awareness of earlier events pushed to extremes the revolution in thinking [...] In this way, every form of viciousness was established in the Hellenic world on account of the civil wars, and the simplicity that is especially found in noble natures disappeared because it became ridiculous. The division into distrustful groups opposed in their thinking was very extensive (cf. 82.1, 3; 83.1).

Thus the historian's remarks, connecting degeneration of political struggle and consequent mass murders with perversion of civic life and values, are not occasional, but apply to most Greek cities. In this way Thucydides highlights that such undoubtedly pathological expressions of the life of the polis become physiological, if they occur so frequently. The Athenian case may be considered as absolutely exceptional, insofar as it shows the *polis* as a successful instrument of mediation among the different components of

the community which, through social and economic integration, prevents personal and factional interest from prevailing⁴⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

Ancient Greece did not refuse political murder, neither theoretically (as proved by the tyrannicide and the justifiable homicide of those who attempted to overthrow democracy) nor in practice (with both direct and judicial murder). Political murder is sometimes legitimated, sometimes admitted as a fact: as recalled above, the words Xenophon ascribes to Kri-tias («all sorts of changes in government are attended by loss of life») acknowledge a common situation of conflict in Greek cities which was exacerbated by the general unrest of the Greek world, as Thucydides highlights in his analysis of the events of Corcyra.

However, the case of Athens shows that societies with strong internal cohesion were able to limit the recourse to murder as an instrument of political struggle against both individuals (fifty years passed between the murders of Ephialtes and Hyperbolos) and masses (the crisis of democracy at the end of the fifth century). Thus, the *polis* could find the resources to limit its recourse to political murder in the cohesion of its political community; on the contrary, fractures of different nature and origin made it more difficult to control this phenomenon, which became usual or even characteristic of the political life of some cities among which Isocrates' Argos.

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⁴⁹ See M. MOGGI, *Stasis, prodosia e polemos in Tucidide*, in *Fazioni e congiure nel mondo antico* (CISA, 25), Milano 1999, p. 41-72.

UN'OSCURA CLAUSOLA SULLA *PAIDEIA* DEI *MOTHAKES*

(PHYLARCH., *FGRHIST* 81 F43 = ATHEN. 271E-F)

Abstract: Osservazioni su un frammento di Filarco (*FGrHist* 81 F43). L'inciso ὥς ἄν κατὰ τὰ ἴδια ἐκποιῶσιν va riferito ai *mothakes*, ma si tratta facilmente di una glossa penetrata nel testo per spiegare la curiosa notizia circa un'educazione comune fra *mothakes* e spartiatì.

Una delle categorie peculiari di membri della società spartana di età classica è rappresentata dai cosiddetti *mothakes*¹, sui quali le testimonianze letterarie più salienti sono costituite da due passi reperibili in autori di epoca tarda, quali Ateneo e Eliano. Quest'ultimo, al proposito, ricorda:

Καλλικρατίδας γε μὴν καὶ Γύλιππος καὶ Λύσανδρος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Μόθακες ἐκαλοῦντο. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο τοῖς τῶν εὐπόρων δούλοις, οὓς συνεξέπεμπον τοῖς υἱοῖς οἱ πατέρες συναγωνιζομένους ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις. ὁ δὲ συγχωρήσας τοῦτο Λυκοῦργος τοῖς ἐμμεῖνασι τῇ τῶν παίδων ἀγωγῇ πολιτείας Λακωνικῆς μεταλαγχάνει.

(Aelian., *Var. hist.* XII 43)

Callicratida, Gilippo e Lisandro a Sparta erano chiamati *mothakes*. Questo era il nome attribuito a quei servi dei notabili che i padri mandavano insieme ai figli ad esercitarsi collegialmente nei ginnasi. Licurgo cui risale questa istituzione fece così avere parte della cittadinanza laconica a coloro che ricevevano l'educazione dei giovani (sc. spartiatì)

Il testo di Eliano pare nel suo significato generale sufficientemente chiaro. Vi si narra l'origine familiare 'servile' di personaggi del calibro di Callicratida, Gilippo e Lisandro²: si trattava tuttavia di una categoria

¹ Fra i contributi specifici al proposito, cfr. L. CANTARELLI, *I mothakes spartani*, in *RFIC* 18 (1890), p. 465-484; D. LOTZE, *ΜΟΘΑΚΕΣ*, in *Historia* 11 (1962), p. 427-435; G. BRUNI, *Mothakes, neodamodeis, Brasidaeioi*, in AA. VV., *Schiavitù, manomissione e classi dipendenti nel mondo antico*, Roma 1979, p. 21-31; S. HODKINSON, *Social Order and Conflict of Values in Classical Sparta*, in *CQ* 36 (1986), p. 378-406; J. DUCAT, *Les hilotes*, Paris-Athènes 1990, p. 166-168; M. FURUYAMA, *Minor Social Group in Sparta: Mothakes, Trophimoi and Nothoi of Spartiatat*, in *KODAI* 2 (1991), p. 1-20; S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependents of the Classical Spartan 'oikos'*, in AA. VV., *Schiavi e dipendenti nell'ambito dell' 'oikos' e della 'familia'*, Pisa 1997, p. 45-72, sp. 55-62; A. PARADISO, *Gli iloti e l' 'oikos'*, *ibid.*, p. 79-84; S. HODKINSON, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*, London 2000, p. 198, 355-356, 425, 435.

² Vd. sull'argomento L. PICCIRILLI, *Callicratida, Gilippo e Lisandro erano motaci?*, in *CCC* 12 (1991), p. 265-269.

di individui piuttosto privilegiata, poiché gli spartati loro proprietari consentivano di avere la stessa *agoge* dei figli, condizione che permetteva a questi individui di rango servile di acquisire il diritto alla cittadinanza, al pari di uno spartata cui spettava *iure sanguinis* sino dalla nascita.

La difficoltà maggiore, tuttavia, consiste nello stabilire chi siano οἱ πατέρες cui si fa riferimento, per i quali si potrebbero avanzare due ipotesi: se il soggetto della relativa fosse collegato all'antecedente τῶν εὐπόρων, si dovrebbe concludere che i padri dei giovani spartati inviavano insieme ai figli i loro *mothakes* nei ginnasi onde questi ultimi acquisissero la stessa *paideia*.

Non si può comunque escludere che οἱ πατέρες siano i servi τῶν εὐπόρων precedentemente menzionati e in tale senso bisognerà intendere τοῖς υἱοῖς come riferito ai «figli dei notabili»³. Secondo quest'altra interpretazione, si potrebbe dedurre che i *mothakes*, di rango servile, avessero facoltà di inviare i loro figli insieme a quelli degli spartati nei ginnasi onde anch'essi acquisissero quella *paideia* viatico per l'ottenimento dello *status* di cittadino di pieno diritto. Nell'uno o nell'altro caso, comunque, il testo non può essere certo annoverato come modello di chiarezza⁴.

Ulteriori cenni sulla particolarità che vedeva i *mothakes* ricevere la stessa educazione degli spartati sono reperibili in un *excerptum* in Ate-neo, ove si riporta un passo attribuito a Filarco:

οἱ δὲ μόθακες καλούμενοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλεύθεροι μὲν εἰσιν, οὐ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὕτως “εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ μόθακες σύντροφοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν πολιτικῶν παίδων, ὥς ἂν κατὰ τὰ ἴδια ἐκποιῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ἓνα, οἱ δὲ δύο, τινὲς δὲ πλείους ποιοῦνται συντρόφους αὐτῶν. εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ μόθακες ἐλεύθεροι μὲν, οὐ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοί γε, μετέχουσιν δὲ τῆς παιδείας πάσης. τούτων ἓνα φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ Λύσανδρον τὸν καταναυμαχήσαντα τοῦς Ἀθηναίους, πολίτην γενόμενον δι’ ἀνδραγαθίαν”.

(Phylarch., *FGrHist* 81 F43 = Athen., 271e-f)

³ Cfr. *infra*, n. 4, per la traduzione proposta da S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependents*, cit., p. 56, che non parrebbe tenere conto della presenza di questo vocabolo, reso invece con l'espressione «with them».

⁴ Cfr. D. LOTZE, *MOΘAKES*, cit., p. 429 per una correzione al testo con l'espunzione di δούλοις sostituito con συντρόφοις, seguito da S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependents*, cit., p. 56, che presenta la seguente traduzione: «This was the name of the 'foster-brothers (*syntrophois*)' of the affluent, whom their fathers sent with them to compete with them in the gymnasium». Anche tale intervento, tuttavia, non parrebbe risolvere l'ambiguità

Presso gli Spartani, i cosiddetti *mothakes* sono liberi, ma non Lacedemoni. A loro riguardo, Filarco, nel venticinquesimo libro delle sue *Storie* narra: «i *mothakes* ricevono la stessa educazione dei Lacedemoni. Ciascuno dei giovani cittadini, a seconda delle sue possibilità private, rende compartecipe dell'educazione, chi uno, chi due, chi più *mothakes*. I *mothakes* sono quindi liberi, ma non Lacedemoni. Si racconta che appartenesse a questa categoria di individui pure Lisandro, il vincitore degli Ateniesi sul mare, divenuto cittadino per le sue virtù personali».

Rispetto alla narrazione di Eliano va subito rilevato che non vi è cenno ad un'originaria condizione servile dei *mothakes*, di cui anzi si ribadisce lo *status* di liberi⁵; inoltre, secondo Eliano, l'*agoge* ricevuta consentiva ai *mothakes* di assurgere al rango di Lacedemoni, mentre Filarco ribadisce che, nonostante l'educazione comune agli spartati, essi non diventavano cittadini, citando l'esempio di Lisandro, un *mothax* che avrebbe raggiunto sì tale prerogativa, ma per meriti personali⁶.

Se le due testimonianze esaminate presentano discrepanze di un certo rilievo, parrebbero invece collimare, in maniera generale, per quanto concerne un aspetto: i *mothakes* potevano partecipare della stessa *agoge* degli spartati, ma non sono immediatamente perspicue le modalità entro cui aveva luogo il loro passaggio alla condizione di 'compagni di educazione', se fossero i loro padri o quelli degli spartati ad agire in tale senso (ipotesi ventilata da Eliano, a seconda dell'interpretazione che si voglia dare del passo) o invece fossero direttamente i giovani spartati a renderli loro *syntrophoi* (ipotesi avanzata da Filarco).

Un aspetto che desta ulteriore interesse è inoltre rappresentato da un curioso inciso che si ritrova nel passo di Filarco, ove in riferimento ai giovani spartati che 'fanno partecipi della loro educazione' i *mothakes*, si ritrova l'espressione ὥς ἂν κατὰ τὰ ἴδια ἐκποιῶσιν, resa, come già

prospettata. In realtà, la proposta di Lotze pare più legata alla 'spinosa' questione circa lo *status* dei *mothakes*, se cioè dovessero essere considerati di rango servile o non piuttosto liberi come ribadito in Phylarch., *FGrHist* 81 F43 = Athen., 271e-f. Ampia trattazione del problema, anche in rapporto alla discussa interpretazione di una glossa di Esichio (s.v. μόθακες, μ 1538), in A. PARADISO, *Forme di dipendenza nel mondo greco*, Bari 1991, p. 46-49; EAD., *Gli iloti*, cit., p. 79-82 e ancora in S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependents*, cit., p. 57-60.

⁵ Cfr. Hesych., s.v. μόθακες, μ 1538: οἱ ἅμα τρεφόμενοι τοῖς υἱοῖς δοῦλοι παῖδες, ove, per l'espunzione di δοῦλοι, vd. già L. CANTARELLI, *I mothakes*, cit., p. 471 e J. DUCAT, *Les hilotes*, cit., p. 167; contra A. PARADISO, *Forme di dipendenza*, cit., p. 46-47.

⁶ Sminuisce la portata di tale testimonianza S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependents*, cit., p. 61, e viene altresì considerata calunniosa da J.-F. BOMMELAER, *Lysandre de Sparte. Histoire et traditions*, Athènes-Paris 1981, p. 36-38 e da L. PICCIRILLI, *Callicratida*, *Gilippo*, cit., p. 265-269: cfr. A. PARADISO, *Gli iloti*, cit., p. 82.

indicato precedentemente in corsivo con «a secondo delle sue (sc. del singolo giovane spartiat) possibilità private»⁷. Pur evitando di rilevare la stranezza comportata dalla menzione di «possibilità private» per quanto concerne un sistema sociale ed economico come quello spartano, la traduzione non parrebbe porre problemi, ma il verbo ἐκποιέω ha come significato principale e tecnico quello di «dare in adozione»⁸, né sembrerebbe possibile considerarlo alla stregua di sinonimo del più usuale δύναμαι, almeno per questo tipo di espressione.

Ora, qualora si volesse ristabilire l'esatta accezione del verbo, l'inciso suonerebbe: «come se privatamente dessero in adozione». Nel contesto del passo in questione, almeno dal punto di vista della struttura del periodo, sorgerebbero ulteriori problemi.

Il soggetto della frase principale è costituito dai giovani spartiati, che rendono compartecipi della loro educazione i *mothakes* e non si comprenderebbe a questo punto il paragone con l'atto di dare in adozione, soprattutto se si dovesse sottintendere ad ἐκποιῶσιν lo stesso soggetto reggente la principale: non si capirebbe, infatti, perché i giovani spartiati dovessero dare in adozione i *mothakes*, quando non erano certamente i loro padri! Va da sé che ad effettuare un simile atto, come ricordato da Filarco, sia pure a mo' d'esempio, avrebbero dovuto essere tutt'al più i padri dei *mothakes* in questione, ma nella citazione non è possibile reperire alcun riferimento esplicito a costoro.

Nel passo di Eliano, qualora si voglia seguire la seconda interpretazione possibile, circa i *mothakes* risulterebbe che «questo era il nome attribuito a quei servi dei notabili che i padri mandavano insieme ai figli ad esercitarsi collegialmente nei ginnasi», ove i padri sono quelli dei *mothakes*, mentre per quanto concerne i figli si dovrebbe intendere, pur senza mai dimenticare l'asperità del testo, quelli degli *euporoi*.

L'atto dei padri dei *mothakes* in Eliano, che allontanano da sé i propri figli per inviarli insieme agli spartiati nei ginnasi, potrebbe essere riavvicinato a quello del padre che 'dà in adozione un figlio' e almeno per quanto concerne il significato generale del paragone, apparentemente

⁷ Così S. HODKINSON, *Servile and Free Dependants*, cit., p. 56 (ribadito anche in ID., *Property and Wealth*, cit., p. 355 e n. 27, ove, comunque, non si esclude una corruzione) sulla base della difesa del testo proposta da C.B. GULICK (ed.), *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists*, III, London 1929, interpretazione seguita anche da A. PARADISO, *Gli iloti*, cit., p. 79, da L. CANFORA (ed.), *Ateneo. I dotti a banchetto*, II, Roma-Salerno 2001, p. 645.

⁸ Vd. LSJ, s.v.: raccolta di attestazioni in P. COBETTO GHIGGIA, *L'adozione ad Atene in epoca classica*, Alessandria 1999, p. 63-65.

astruso, riportato nel testo di Filarco si potrebbe ricorrere ad una simile spiegazione⁹. Tuttavia, il testo 'incriminato' sarebbe ben lungi dal 'funzionare', almeno così come tramandato, sino al punto in cui non si volesse intervenire nell'inciso integrando un soggetto — *i. e.* i padri dei *mothakes* — o addirittura correggendo il verbo dalla diatesi attiva a quella passiva e supponendo conseguentemente che il soggetto siano i *mothakes* 'come se fossero dati in adozione', sia pure con ulteriori difficoltà per la collocazione dell'inciso.

L'ipotesi più economica in tale senso, ma non per questo assolutamente risolutiva, potrebbe consistere nel ritenere la parentetica tanto discutibile come una glossa esplicativa, penetrata nel testo e collocatasi nella maniera peggiore possibile tanto da non potere passare inosservata.

D'altra parte, se, da un punto di vista formale, è ben palese che una frase come quella esaminata non possa in alcuna maniera armonizzarsi con il resto del periodo, è altresì sorprendente come una simile annotazione, sotto l'aspetto contenutistico, sia tutt'altro che 'gettata per aria'. Essa completa con un utile e sensato paragone quanto confusamente riportato in Eliano e, particolare vieppiù curioso, a volere considerare con attenzione la specificazione κατὰ τὰ ἴδια, non parrebbe essere all'oscuro dell'unica particolarità nota circa l'adozione a Sparta, che aveva come caratteristica saliente quella di essere un atto pubblico¹⁰: l'anonimo glossatore rileverebbe invece che, nel caso dei *mothakes* scelti come compagni d'educazione dei giovani spartati, una simile tradizione si potrebbe *paragonare* ad una sorta di procedura d'adozione a livello privato.

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⁹ È curioso osservare come in tale senso venga considerata generalmente questa particolarità dell'educazione impartita ai *mothakes* comune agli spartati, pur senza interpretare esplicitamente la clausola in questione come riferita all'ambito semantico dell'adozione: cfr. P. CARTLEDGE, *Agasilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*, Baltimore 1987, p. 28: «To borrow the phrase of Arnold Toynbee (*Some Problems of Greek History*, Oxford 1969, 343-346), they (*sc. mothakes*) were 'Homoioi by adoption'. That to say, being disqualified by family circumstances from embarking upon the *agoge* unaided, they were adopted figuratively by some other qualified Spartan and put through under his auspices together with his own son or sons»; A. PARADISO, *Gli iloti*, cit., p. 82: «si può forse ipotizzare che i figli degli Spartati decaduti venissero 'adottati' dall'*oikos* che ne sosteneva le spese per l'*agoge*, e che di conseguenza assumessero realmente, come i figli di *hypomeiones* o futuri tali, lo status di motaci».

¹⁰ Cfr. Herodot., VI 57: «se uno vuole adottare un figlio, lo deve fare davanti ai re». Vd. P. COBETTO GHIGGIA, *Adozione*, cit., p. 47.

LES IDENTITÉS MULTIPLES DE PTOLÉMAIOS, FILS DE GLAUKIAS

Abstract: The recluse Ptolemaios is a well-known character of Ptolemaic Egypt. The object of this article is not to shed new light on *who* he was but on *what he says he is*, taking advantage of the relatively high number of documents composed by him. Mainly on the basis of the *praescripta* of the petitions addressed either to the king or to his agents, this study leads us to the following results. Almost omnipresent, the ethnic designation 'Macedonian' is nevertheless confined to the field of the official identity. If Ptolemaios wants to define his origin he does so geographically as a 'man of the Heracleopolite', and culturally as a 'Hellene', but not as a Macedonian. The self-definition 'Glaukias'son' is more complex: in some contexts, being the son of Glaukias makes Ptolemaios a soldier's son, in others an orphan's son who is the more vulnerable as he himself has no children. As to the identity of 'recluse', it appears to have the greatest importance: it is a key element of his social identity and is also used in different ways to legitimate his requests.

Le Macédonien Ptolémaios, fils de Glaukias, qui fut reclus pendant au moins vingt ans dans le Sérapeum de Memphis sous le règne de Ptolémée VI, est un personnage bien connu des papyrologues et de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'Égypte ptolémaïque¹. Aussi l'objet de cet article n'est-il pas d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives sur sa vie, ni sur le milieu du Sérapeum, mais de réfléchir, à travers le cas particulier qu'il nous offre, à certains problèmes relatifs à l'identité dans l'Égypte des Ptolémées. Considérant en effet que les discours constituent un angle d'attaque privilégié pour l'étude des phénomènes identitaires, nous voudrions mettre à profit le nombre relativement important de documents composés (sinon

¹ Outre la monumentale étude d'U. WILCKEN, *UPZ I*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, voir notamment L. DELEKAT, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung* (Münch. Beitr., 47), Munich 1964; N. LEWIS, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1986, p. 69-87; K. GOUDRIAAN, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Amsterdam 1988, p. 42-57; D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Oxford 1988, p. 212-265; M. CHAUVEAU, *L'Égypte au temps de Cléopâtre, 180-30 av. J.-C.*, Paris 1997, p. 158-173; J. RAY, *Reflections of Osiris. Lives from Ancient Egypt*, Londres 2001, p. 130-156; B. LEGRAS, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis. Enquête sur l'hellénisme égyptien au II^e siècle av. n.è.* (à paraître). Je remercie sincèrement W. Clarysse pour ses remarques concernant cet article.

rédigés²) par Ptolémaïos dans lesquels ce dernier se trouve amené à s'identifier: une quittance notifiant la réception de deux métrètes d'huile au nom des Jumelles Thauès et Taous (UPZ 31), trois lettres privées (UPZ 67, 75, 78), et surtout vingt-cinq pétitions et brouillons de pétitions destinés au roi ou à ses agents sur des sujets divers (en son nom propre: UPZ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16; ou au nom des Jumelles: UPZ 22, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53). Notre objectif sera ici d'examiner la manière dont Ptolémaïos mobilise ses différentes identités — ou si l'on préfère les différentes composantes de son identité — au fil de ces documents, tout en cherchant à comprendre dans quels cas certaines auto-identifications sont préférées à d'autres. Par conséquent, il ne s'agira pas de chercher à savoir *qui* était Ptolémaïos — pour autant qu'il existe une réponse à une telle question — mais bien de nous intéresser à *ce qu'il dit qu'il est*.

Dans cette perspective, nous partirons des prescrits qui ouvrent les documents à caractère officiel³: les pétitions destinées au roi et à ses agents, ainsi que la quittance UPZ 31. À la différence des lettres privées, dans lesquelles notre personnage s'identifie simplement par son nom, «Ptolémaïos»⁴, ces prescrits présentent en effet des titres plus détaillés et permettent, derrière leur apparente monotonie, de dégager certaines variations dignes d'intérêt; c'est aussi la raison pour laquelle nous considérerons à parts égales les différents brouillons concernant une même requête. Le tableau ci-joint révèle, sous une forme très simplifiée, les deux aspects qui prédominent nettement dans l'ensemble des documents: une identité officielle, constituée par le patronyme et l'ethnique, «Ptolémaïos, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien», et une identité de reclus, «Ptolémaïos, en reclusion dans le grand Sérapeum près de Memphis». Nous nous proposons ici tout d'abord d'évaluer les fonctions réciproques de ces deux séries d'autodéfinitions, en cherchant aussi à comprendre pour quelles raisons elles sont parfois complétées ou bien remplacées par d'autres identifications moins fréquentes: Macédonien de l'*épigonè*, homme de l'Héracléopolite, ou encore protecteur des Jumelles. Le corps

² D'après U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 110, mis à part les comptes et les quelques notes au bas de l'UPZ 20 (l. 67-71), seuls les UPZ 67, 77, 79 et 80 sont de la main de Ptolémaïos.

³ À la suite d'U. Wilcken et par souci de simplicité, nous désignerons dans cette étude du même nom de «prescrit» les formules introductives des différentes pétitions composées par Ptolémaïos, qu'il s'agisse d'*enteuxeis* ou d'*hypomnēmata*.

⁴ L'UPZ 67 est adressé par Ptolémaïos à son frère Hippalos, l'UPZ 78 à son ami Damoxénos, l'UPZ 75 à un Apollonios qui est peut-être le chef de la police de la nécropole.

même des pétitions sera également pris en considération pour autant qu'il permet d'éclairer le choix de ces différents titres, ou qu'il fait apparaître d'autres autodéfinitions explicites: au premier chef celle d'Hellène, mais aussi celle d'homme sans enfant et pourtant «père».

LES AUTODÉSIGNATIONS DE PTOLÉMAIOS DANS LES DOCUMENTS OFFICIELS

Ce tableau résume la teneur des prescrits conservés dans les différentes pétitions et brouillons de pétitions composés par Ptolémaios, soit pour lui-même (UPZ 3 à 16), soit pour les Jumelles (UPZ 22 à 53). Les UPZ 3, 6⁵, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 sont adressées au roi ou au couple royal, les UPZ 5, 7, 8, 22, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53 à des fonctionnaires. Nous y avons ajouté la quittance UPZ 31 mais pas les simples ébauches de pétitions qui figurent au Verso de l'UPZ 18 et au bas de l'UPZ 19 (l. 66).

Remarques:

- l'UPZ 4, une autre version de l'UPZ 3, ne figure pas dans ce tableau dans la mesure où le prescrit n'a pas été conservé;
- dans l'UPZ 14, la qualité de reclus n'apparaît pas dans le prescrit mais elle est évoquée dans le corps de la pétition (*).

PTOLÉMAIOS, FILS DE GLAUKIAS, MACÉDONIEN

Ce type d'autodésignation, dans laquelle le patronyme est complété par l'ethnique, c'est-à-dire la *patris* selon la terminologie de l'administration ptolémaïque, est caractéristique de l'identité officielle d'un Hellène en Égypte⁶. Ceci explique bien entendu sa fréquence dans notre dossier:

⁵ Pour la forme particulière du prescrit de cette pétition, voir A. DI BITONTO, *Le petizioni al re. Studio sul formulario, Aegyptus* 47 (1967), p. 11: «il dativo seguito dal παρά + genitivo — formula che ricorre negli υπομνήματα e nei προσαγγέλματα — è usato probabilmente per analogia con U.P.Z. I, 5, in cui lo scrivente scrive contemporaneamente per lo stesso affare, rivolgendosi allo stratego».

⁶ Voir sur ce point E. BICKERMANN, *Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte I: Der Heimatsvermerk und die staatsrechtliche Stellung der Hellenen im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, *AfP* 8 (1927), p. 216-239; F. UEBEL, «Nomenklaturregel», dans *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern (Abh. deutsch. Akad. Wiss. Berl., 3)*, Berlin 1968, p. 11-13; J. MÉLEZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *Le statut des Hellènes dans l'Égypte lagide: bilan et perspectives de recherches*, *REG* 96 (1983), p. 244-252; D.J. THOMPSON, *Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt*, dans *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, éd. I. MALKIN, Cambridge (Mass.) 2001, p. 304-306.

Πτολέμαιος	f. Γλαυκίας	Μακεδόνien	Μακεδόνien τῆς ἐπιγονῆς	τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλείεω πολέμου	en reclusion	en reclusion depuis x années	en reclusion depuis déjà x années	[[προεστηκώς τῶν διδυμῶν]]
UPZ 3	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 5	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 6	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 7	X	X			X	X	X	
UPZ 8	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 9	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 10	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 11	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 14	X	X	X	X	*	*		
UPZ 15	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 16	X	X			X	X		
UPZ 22		X			X	X		
UPZ 24					X	X		
UPZ 31	X	X	X					
UPZ 32		X			X			
UPZ 33		X			X	X		
UPZ 34		X			X	X		
UPZ 35		X			X	X		
UPZ 36					X	X		X
UPZ 43		X			X	X	X	X
UPZ 44		X			X	X		
UPZ 45	X	X			X	X	X	X
UPZ 51		X			X	X	X	
UPZ 52		X			X	X	X	
UPZ 53		X			X	X	X	

13 documents sur 25 comportent les deux éléments dans le prescrit⁷. Le caractère officiel de cette désignation est également révélé par des documents qui font apparaître Ptolémaïos — et à l'élaboration desquels il a certainement participé — mais qui n'ont pas été rédigés en son nom: les *UPZ* 18, 19 et 20. Il s'agit de trois versions d'une pétition composée en 163 par les Jumelles Thauès et Taous afin de dénoncer les menées de leur mère Néphoris et de leur demi-frère Pachratès. Ces trois textes révèlent une évolution significative quant à la manière de présenter Ptolémaïos, qui accueillit les Jumelles lorsque celles-ci arrivèrent au Sérapeum. Dans les deux premiers brouillons, les *UPZ* 18 et 19, c'est seulement l'identité de reclus qui est relevée par les Jumelles car c'est manifestement celle qui fait sens à leurs yeux⁸: Thauès et Taous, expliquant comment, chassées de chez elles par une mère indigne, elles ont trouvé refuge auprès de Ptolémaïos, présentent ce dernier comme «Ptolémaïos, qui est en réclusion dans le même temple», ou comme «un certain Ptolémaïos, faisant partie de ceux qui sont en réclusion dans le Grand Sérapeum», sans mentionner sa qualité de Macédonien, ni celle de fils de Glaukias: «ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖς⁹ ὁ ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ» (*UPZ* 18, l. 29¹⁰); «Πτολεμαῖόν τινα τῶν ἐν κατοχῇ ὄντων ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαραπ[ι]εῖῳ» (*UPZ* 19, l. 21-22), Mais dans l'*UPZ* 20, la version corrigée qui fut finalement présentée au roi et à la reine lors de leur visite au Sérapeum le 8 octobre 163, le besoin s'est fait sentir de réintroduire le patronyme et l'ethnique de leur protecteur: ce dernier est redevenu «un certain Ptolémaïos, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien, en réclusion dans le même temple», Πτολεμαῖῳ Γλαυκίου Μακεδόνι τινὶ ὄντι ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ (l. 23-24). De même, c'est bien comme «Ptolémaïos, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien» que Ptolémaïos est désigné par les scribes du bureau de Démétrios, l'intendant de l'armée dans la région de Memphis (*UPZ* 14, l. 62).

Mais si le patronyme et l'ethnique font office d'«état-civil» de Ptolémaïos, les deux éléments n'ont pas exactement la même importance et ne font pas l'objet d'un même usage de la part du reclus: des deux, c'est

⁷ C'est aussi sous cette forme, «Apollonios, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien», que le frère cadet de Ptolémaïos s'identifie dans les deux versions de sa plainte concernant ses démêlés avec les fils de Teebésis, le fournisseur de bois du Sérapeum: *UPZ* 12-13.

⁸ Outre celle d'ami de leur père: φίλος ἡμῶν ἦν τοῦ πατρός (*UPZ* 18, l. 19, cf. *UPZ* 19, l. 23).

⁹ Ici comme par la suite nous conserverons le texte littéral des papyrus édités par U. Wilcken, avec les variations orthographiques et les fautes.

¹⁰ Cf. aussi l. 18-19: πρὸς Πτολεμ[αῖ]ν τῶ<ν> ἐν κατοχῇ.

l'ethnique, la désignation de Macédonien, qui est la plus systématique dans les prescrits; en revanche, dans le corps des pétitions Ptolémaïos ne revient jamais sur sa qualité de Macédonien, alors que celle de fils de Glaukias est fortement mise en avant dans certains contextes.

D'un côté, la mention de l'ethnique est véritablement omniprésente: elle n'est omise que 2 fois sur les 25 documents considérés. De plus, c'est celle qui, en cas d'oubli, est réintégrée en priorité dans le formulaire. Les *UPZ* 43, 44 et 45 sont à cet égard révélateurs. Il s'agit de trois brouillons de pétition composés par Ptolémaïos et les Jumelles au cours de l'année 162/1 et destinés à l'hypodiocète Sarapion (elles concernent les retards survenus dans les livraisons de pain dues aux Jumelles par le Temple): si l'on suit U. Wilcken, l'*UPZ* 43 correspond à une première version, écrite par un scribe professionnel puis assortie de nombreuses corrections, l'*UPZ* 44 à une tentative de mise au propre de l'ensemble par Apollonios, le jeune frère de Ptolémaïos, et l'*UPZ* 45 à une version ultérieure et plus élaborée¹¹. Or Ptolémaïos s'y trouve identifié de la manière suivante:

- *UPZ* 43: παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὑμακεδών (en ajout interlinéaire) τοῦ ὄντος ἐν κατοχῇ...
- *UPZ* 44: παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὑμακεδόνος (*idem*) τοῦ ὄντος ἐν κατοχῇ...
- *UPZ* 45: παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Γλαυκίου Ὑμακεδόνος (...), ὄντος δ' ἐν κατοχῇ...

Trois étapes se laissent donc deviner dans la rédaction du prescrit. À l'origine, le premier copiste de l'*UPZ* 43 a écrit simplement le nom «Ptolémaïos» et l'a soigneusement complété par la qualité de reclus, mais sans faire mention ni du patronyme, ni de l'ethnique. Dans un second temps, parmi les nombreuses corrections apportées à l'*UPZ* 43, l'ethnique «Macédonien» a été inséré par une autre main¹² en ajout interlinéaire — mais pas le patronyme; le même phénomène s'est produit dans l'*UPZ* 44 lorsque le jeune Apollonios a entrepris de recopier le début du texte de la pétition. Enfin, dans un troisième et dernier temps, qui correspond à l'*UPZ* 45, l'ethnique, mais aussi le patronyme, ont bien été réintégrés «au propre» dans le prescrit, de même que «Ptolémaïos le reclus» était redevenu «Ptolémaïos fils de Glaukias, Macédonien, le reclus» entre les

¹¹ U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 251-257.

¹² Peut-être celle d'Apollonios selon U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 253, n. 2: trois à quatre mains différentes sont intervenues dans la rédaction de l'*UPZ* 43.

UPZ 18-19 et l'UPZ 20. Il n'est évidemment pas possible de savoir si l'initiative de ces corrections — ajout d'abord de l'ethnique, puis du patronyme — revient à Ptolémaïos ou bien à un autre des personnages impliqués dans la rédaction écrite¹³. Mais, si l'on prend en compte l'évolution entre les UPZ 43-44 et l'UPZ 45, il semble bien en tout cas que la nécessité de faire figurer l'ethnique à côté du nom de Ptolémaïos ait été perçue comme plus impérative encore que sa qualité de «fils de Glaukias», puisque c'est dans la troisième version seulement que celle-ci est réapparue.

De fait, ce second élément de l'état-civil de Ptolémaïos tient une place assez paradoxale. D'un côté, il est beaucoup plus souvent omis que l'ethnique dans les prescrits: en tout 12 fois sur 25¹⁴, et plus précisément dans presque toutes les pétitions composées pour les Jumelles à l'exception de l'UPZ 45. Pourtant, alors que la référence à l'ethnique n'apparaît plus une fois le prescrit passé, Ptolémaïos revient sur son identité de fils de Glaukias dans le corps de certaines pétitions, les UPZ 4, 9 et 14. Plus précisément, c'est en fait sa qualité de fils orphelin qu'il met en lumière dans ces trois textes, dans la mesure où les références à Glaukias concernent pour l'essentiel la mort de ce dernier: «mon père s'en étant allé chez les dieux», [τοῦ δὲ πατρός] μ[ου] εἰς θεοὺς μετελθόντος (UPZ 4, l. 8); «mon père étant mort en Thot de l'an 18¹⁵», τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) Θῶυθ μετα[λλά]ξ[αντος] τοῦ πατρός μου τὸν βίον (UPZ 9, l. 4-5); «(mon père) étant mort à l'époque de la révolte», τούτου δὲ μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον ἐν [[τῇ]] τοῖς ᾧ τῆς παραχῆ<ς> χρόνοις (UPZ 14, l. 8-9). Sans doute Ptolémaïos a-t-il estimé que la disparition de son père, dans la mesure où elle accentuait sa vulnérabilité de reclus (voir *infra*), était un élément propre à susciter la bienveillance royale à son égard, et à fonder ses revendications. En l'occurrence, l'UPZ 4, l'un des plus anciens documents composés par Ptolémaïos (164) constitue une des deux versions de l'«affaire Héracleia»: cette jeune fille qui chercha refuge au Sérapeum et fut recueillie par Ptolémaïos avant d'être expulsée du temple par la police. Le papyrus est malheureusement très fragmentaire mais on en retiendra que la disparition de Glaukias est évoquée dans une requête dans laquelle Ptolémaïos prie qu'on lui rende la jeune fille dont

¹³ Voir note précédente.

¹⁴ Ne sont pas considérées ici les fautes d'inattention qui aboutissent à des «Ptolémaïos, fils de Ptolémaïos» en UPZ 9 et 31.

¹⁵ C'est-à-dire octobre 164.

il a, littéralement «fait son enfant»¹⁶, et qui lui rend des services¹⁷. Quant à l'UPZ 9, il s'agit de l'une des requêtes relatives à la maison familiale de Psichis composée en 161/0, dans laquelle Ptolémaïos sollicite l'aide du roi et de la reine pour ses frères en butte aux tracasseries des autorités du village. Il prie d'ailleurs explicitement les souverains de prendre en considération, non seulement son propre sort, mais aussi la «situation d'orphelins» de ces derniers: τὴν ἐκεῖνην ὀρφανείαν (l. 11).

Dans l'UPZ 14 l'enjeu est plus grand encore et la mobilisation de l'identité «fils de Glaukias» plus complexe. Il s'agit en effet de la requête rédigée en 158 par Ptolémaïos pour obtenir l'incorporation de son jeune frère Apollonios dans la garnison de Memphis et s'assurer par là même un soutien pour ses vieux jours. Cette pétition présente tout d'abord un prescrit doublement inhabituel, la mention «Ptolémaïos, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien» étant complété par les termes «de l'épigone, de ceux de l'Héracléopolite»: «Πτολεμαῖος Γλαυκίου Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου». Puis la requête proprement dite s'ouvre par une allusion à Glaukias: Ptolémaïos rappelle que son père faisait partie des συγγενῶν κατοίκων de l'Héracléopolite (l. 7-8), les catœques dotés du titre aulique de parent¹⁸, et qu'il trouva la mort «à l'époque de la révolte» (l. 8-9)¹⁹: précision qui ne fonctionne certainement pas comme

¹⁶ Tant le statut exact d'Héracléia, libre ou esclave, que la nature de ses relations avec Ptolémaïos restent discutés. Voir U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 119-126; L. DELEKAT, *op. cit.*, p. 48-70; D.J. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, p. 224; R. SCHOLL, *C. Ptol. Sklav.* 83, p. 289-293; J. RAY, *op. cit.*, p. 133; B. LEGRAS, *L'adoption en droit hellénistique d'après les papyrus grecs d'Égypte*, dans *Parenté et société dans le monde grec de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne*. Actes du colloque international de Volos, 19-21 juin 2003, Bordeaux 2006, p. 177-181.

¹⁷ Pour L. DELEKAT, *op. cit.*, p. 61, «Herakleia (hat) wirklich für Ptolemaios in seinem Heimatort Psichis am Grabe seines Vaters die Libationen dargebracht». Mais les restitutions qui permettent cette interprétation occupent une telle proportion de la pétition (cf. L. DELEKAT, *op. cit.*, p. 51-52) que le sens de l'ensemble reste hypothétique.

¹⁸ Pour ce titre, qui apparaît sous le règne de Ptolémée VI, voir U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 8, et p. 649; F. UEBEL, *op. cit.*, n° 1178; L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt, Introduction and Prosopography*, Bruxelles 1975, n° 0241 et, du même auteur, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque: contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique* (*Stud. Hell.*, 23), Louvain 1977, p. 164: «Le groupe des συγγενεῖς τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων a fait son apparition pendant le règne de Philométor, plus exactement avant 164 (...). Peut-être ces catœques se sont-ils distingués dans la guerre contre Antiochos IV (170-168 av. J.-C.)».

¹⁹ Sur ces temps de révolte, voir A.-E. VEISSE, *Les «révoltes égyptiennes»*. *Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (*Stud. Hell.*, 41), Louvain 2004, p. 32-38.

une pure indication chronologique — la formule de l'*UPZ* 9, «au mois de Thot de l'an 18», étant bien plus explicite à cet égard — mais qui a manifestement pour fonction de rappeler que Glaukias mourut alors qu'il était au service du roi (même si ce ne fut pas nécessairement sur le champ de bataille). La notion de vulnérabilité liée à la mort du père n'est pas absente de cette pétition: la disparition de Glaukias les a laissés, lui et son frère, démunis²⁰. Mais le plus important ici est sans doute qu'être «fils de Glaukias» rend Ptolémaïos «fils de soldat», et plus précisément encore «fils de soldat ayant trouvé la mort au service du roi», ce qui vise à justifier la requête elle-même: l'incorporation d'Apollonios dans l'armée.

PTOLÉMAIOS, DE L'HÉRACLÉOPOLITE

Le sujet de l'*UPZ* 14 nous oriente aussi vers la compréhension des deux autres titres qui complètent le prescrit: τῆς ἐπιγονῆς et τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. Il ne fait aucun doute que ce formulaire a été soigneusement choisi: à la date à laquelle la pétition a été rédigée, Ptolémaïos s'est déjà adressé à de nombreuses reprises au couple royal entre 164 et 160 et les souverains ont appris à le connaître sous les traits de «Ptolémaïos, fils de Glaukias, Macédonien, en réclusion dans le grand Sérapeum près de Memphis» (*UPZ* 3, 6, 9-11). Les changements introduits dans cette requête apparaissent donc tout à fait délibérés. Pour ce qui concerne la mention de l'Héracléopolite — la seule dans les prescrits — il est sûr que Ptolémaïos entretenait des liens étroits avec le nome: non seulement ses frères vivaient toujours dans la maison paternelle de Psichis, mais lui-même y faisait des affaires par leur intermédiaire. Les racines héracléopolitaines de Ptolémaïos se manifestent également dans l'*UPZ* 16 lorsque le reclus prie Isis et Sarapis, mais aussi «les douze dieux à Héracléopolis», d'accorder leur protection au roi et à sa famille²¹. Néanmoins, on peut estimer que dans l'*UPZ* 14 la mention de l'Héracléopolite ne reflète pas la nostalgie de la *patris* familiale²² mais fait plutôt

²⁰ Cf. l. 9-14 et *infra*, p. 85.

²¹ Voir sur ce point U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

²² En effet, c'est bien Psichis, le village de l'Héracléopolite, et non la Macédoine qui est qualifié de *patris* de Glaukias dans l'*UPZ* 9, l. 5. Ceci nous montre combien, dans la langue courante, l'usage du terme de *patris* pouvait différer de son emploi juridique. Voir sur ce point W. CLARYSSE et D.J. THOMPSON, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt (P. Count)*, Cambridge 2006, vol. II, p. 147 et n. 116.

écho au titre de Glaukias «τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτῃ συγγενῶν κατοίκων» (l. 7-8). Autrement dit, quelques soient les liens qui, par ailleurs, unissaient Ptolémaïos au nome Héracléopolite et plus particulièrement à Psichis, il s'agit pour lui de souligner une fois encore son appartenance à une famille de militaires.

PTOLÉMAIOS, MACÉDONIEN DE L'ÉPIGONÈ

Reste à examiner la mention Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, «Macédonien de la descendance», qui apparaît comme la seconde innovation du prescrit de l'UPZ 14 et qui n'apparaît que dans un autre document, l'UPZ 31. Le sens exact de l'expression τῆς ἐπιγονῆς a longtemps été débattu, mais semble en voie d'éclaircissement grâce à la confrontation de la documentation grecque et démotique. Cs. La'da a ainsi établi de manière convaincante que la tournure démotique *ms n Kmy*, «né en Égypte», qui correspond à l'expression grecque *tès épigonès*²³, était l'abréviation d'une formule plus longue: *Wynn ms n Kmy hn n3 hrt.w n3 srtys*, «Greek born in Egypt among the children of the *stratiôtai*»²⁴. Ce résultat renforce l'hypothèse déjà avancée par U. Wilcken, selon laquelle les membres de l'épigonè seraient les descendants des soldats d'origine étrangère à l'Égypte²⁵. Dans ce cas, la mention Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς dans le prescrit de l'UPZ 14 apparaît très cohérente à la fois avec les détails inhabituels donnés sur Glaukias dans cette pétition et avec l'enjeu de cette dernière: Ptolémaïos, qui réclame l'intégration de son frère dans la garnison de Memphis, insiste une fois encore sur sa propre identité de fils de militaire. Ces variations dans le formulaire, avec l'introduction des deux titres τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου et Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, correspondent donc à un ensemble cohérent.

²³ Cf. W. CLARYSSE, *P. Petrie*² I, p. 48.

²⁴ CS. LA'DA, *Who were Those 'of the Epigone'?*, dans *Akten des XXI. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Berlin 1995, éd. B. KRAMER, W. LUPPE, H. MAEHLER, G. POETHKE (*AJP Beiheft* 3), Berlin 1997, p. 563-569, en particulier p. 567.

²⁵ U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 163-164, n. 70. Pour le problème spécifique des Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, voir notamment P.W. PESTMAN, *A proposito dei documenti di Pathyris II. Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), p. 15-53, E. BOSWINKEL et P.W. PESTMAN, *P. Dion.* (1982), p. 56-63, et le récent état des lieux bibliographique chez J.S. COWEY et K. MARESCHE, *P. Polit. Iud.* (2001), p. 98-99. Voir également W. CLARYSSE et D.J. THOMPSON, *P. Count* I, p. 464 et *P. Count* II, p. 154, à propos des *épigonoï* qui apparaissent dans le *P. Count* 47 et dont certains portent, dans d'autres documents, le titre *tès épigonès*: «Those named in this register were probably the sons of cleruchs who had not yet succeeded to their fathers' *klēros*. Their close connection with the army community is clear, though they were not themselves necessarily military men».

En revanche, l'apparition de l'*épigonè* dans l'*UPZ* 31 ne semble pas devoir s'expliquer de la même manière. Ce papyrus daté de 162 n'est pour une fois pas une pétition mais une quittance rédigée, pour le compte des Jumelles, à l'attention de Démétrios, fils de Sôsos, l'homme choisi par Thauès et Taous pour retirer leurs allocations d'huile au *thesauros* de Memphis²⁶. En l'occurrence, la manière dont Ptolémaïos s'y présente — Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου (*sic*) Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς — s'explique peut-être simplement par le caractère très formel du document. Par cette quittance du 27 Hathyr, Ptolémaïos accuse en effet réception, en tant que protecteur des Jumelles, des deux métrètes d'huile que Démétrios est allé retirer en leur nom à Memphis. Or, alors que Démétrios est un ami proche²⁷ et qu'il l'a à ce titre expressément recommandé aux deux sœurs, Ptolémaïos s'adresse à lui de manière très officielle en lui donnant non seulement son patronyme et son ethnique, «Démétrios fils de Sôsos, Crétois», mais aussi tous ses titres militaires: τῶν πρότερον Εὐμήλου, «de l'ancien régiment d'Eumélos», et τακτόμισθος²⁸. Or ce second titre n'apparaît jamais dans les autres documents faisant apparaître le personnage²⁹, et même le premier n'est pas systématique. De fait, Démétrios lui-même ne s'identifie que comme Δημήτριος Σώσου Κρής dans la quittance qu'il rédigea deux jours plus tôt (le 25 Hathyr) aux fonctionnaires du *thesauros* après avoir retiré les deux métrètes en question³⁰. Si dans l'*UPZ* 14 le titre «Macédonien de l'*épigonè*» était implicitement en relation avec l'objet de la requête, il nous semble donc davantage s'expliquer ici par un souci de formalisme de la part de Ptolémaïos, les titres militaires de Démétrios ayant entraîné, par attraction en quelque sorte, l'apparition de la mention Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.

²⁶ Cf. U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 183-184.

²⁷ Déjà dans l'*UPZ* 6 (octobre 163) Ptolémaïos avait prié le roi d'accepter que Démétrios soit son représentant en justice, dans la mesure où lui-même ne pouvait quitter le temple pour se défendre (l. 35-37). Dans l'*UPZ* 20, les Jumelles présentent ce même Démétrios comme «un ami» de Ptolémaïos: τοῦ τούτου συνήθους Δημητρίου (l. 45).

²⁸ La signification de ce titre reste discutée: pour F. UEBEL, *op. cit.*, p. 378, les τακτόμισθοι seraient des officiers, pour E. VAN'T DACK, *Bibl. Orient.* 27 (1970), p. 358, des clérourques à la dotation complétée par une solde. Voir à ce propos W. CLARYSSE, *P. Petrie* 2 I, p. 118.

²⁹ *UPZ* 6, l. 36; *UPZ* 20, l. 32, 45, 48; *UPZ* 25, l. 18; *UPZ* 26, l. 11; *UPZ* 27, l. 3-4; *UPZ* 29, l. 1-2.

³⁰ C'est aussi de cette manière que Ptolémaïos le présente dans l'*UPZ* 6, de même que les Jumelles dans l'*UPZ* 20.

PTOLÉMAIOS, RECLUS AU SÉRAPEUM

Venons-en maintenant à un autre aspect tout à fait essentiel de l'identité de Ptolémaïos, celle de reclus, exprimée généralement sous la forme: «en réclusion dans le grand Sérapeum près de Memphis». Cette qualité de reclus est en effet omniprésente dans notre dossier avec, comme celle de Macédonien, seulement 2 omissions dans les prescrits: dans l'*UPZ* 31 et l'*UPZ* 14. Avec le nom propre, c'est donc l'élément le plus récurrent de l'auto-identification de Ptolémaïos. Evidemment, le fait s'explique aisément d'un point de vue objectif: la réclusion est l'horizon quotidien du fils de Glaukias. Mais il est clair que, dans les pétitions, cette qualité de reclus n'est pas un élément neutre d'identification, mais qu'elle contribue à fonder la légitimité des requêtes que Ptolémaïos adresse aux autorités, en son nom propre ou au nom des Jumelles. À cet égard, il n'est pas anodin que, dans notre dossier, le seul document qui ne fasse aucune allusion à la réclusion soit la quittance *UPZ* 31 évoquée plus haut, autrement dit le seul document qui n'est pas une pétition. Quant à l'*UPZ* 14, même si la qualité de reclus manque dans le prescrit, c'est pour réapparaître quelques lignes plus loin dans le corps de la pétition, juste après la mention de la mort de Glaukias: «étant donné que je suis en réclusion dans le grand Sérapeum près de Memphis depuis 15 ans», «συνβάντος δὲ γεγονέναι με ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μέμφει μεγάλῳ Σαραπιείῳ ἔτη ιε» (l. 10-11). On en déduira qu'être fils d'un clérouque de l'Héracléopolite a semblé à Ptolémaïos prioritaire pour faire valoir sa demande, mais qu'il a néanmoins jugé que sa qualité de reclus était un autre élément non négligeable à faire valoir auprès du couple royal. De même, dans les *UPZ* 15 et 16, deux versions d'une nouvelle requête concernant cette fois un changement d'affectation pour Apollonios en 156, Ptolémaïos conclut en ces termes: «C'est pourquoi je te prie, ô roi Hélios, de ne pas regarder (mon sort) avec indifférence, moi qui suis reclus» (Διὸ ἀξιῶ, Ἥλιε βασιλεῦ, μὴ ὑπερ[ιδεῖν] με ἐν κατοχῇ ὄντα), *UPZ* 15, l. 33-35; cf. *UPZ* 16, l. 22-23): comme l'avait déjà noté U. Wilcken, la réclusion est ici employée comme un argument devant décider le roi à l'examen de la requête³¹.

C'est en ce sens aussi que peut être interprétée la mention quasi-systématique de la durée de la réclusion (21 fois sur 24)³². À deux occasions

³¹ U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³² La durée de la réclusion est également précisée dans la requête du reclus égyptien Harnaïs: *UPZ* 2, l. 3.

seulement exprimée en fonction du calendrier du règne (*UPZ* 15 et 16)³³, cette durée est donnée dans tous les autres cas en nombre absolu d'années de réclusion: de 9 à 15 pour les documents conservés. Par ailleurs, à cinq reprises le nombre d'années est encore souligné par l'emploi de l'adverbe ἤδη, «en réclusion depuis déjà *x* années»: *UPZ* 7 (163), 43 (162/1), 45 (162/1), 52 (161), 53 (161). À nouveau, il est évident qu'il ne s'agit pas d'indications chronologiques gratuites. L'effet attendu de telles précisions apparaît clairement dans l'*UPZ* 14 lorsque Ptolémaïos demande, explicitement cette fois, que ses nombreuses années de réclusion soient prises en compte dans l'examen de sa requête: «je vous demande, très grands dieux Philométors, de considérer les années évoquées précédemment», δέωμαι ὑμῶν τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, ἐμβλεύσαντας (pour ἐμβλέψαντας) εἰς τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἔτη (l. 14-16). Manifestement, être reclus dans le Sérapeum — a fortiori depuis de longues années — était une chose à laquelle le couple royal était censé accorder une valeur intrinsèque.

Plus précisément, on peut estimer que la réclusion fonde à deux égards la légitimité des requêtes de Ptolémaïos. Tout d'abord, elle prouve la piété du requérant, sa proximité avec les dieux³⁴, et donc sa capacité à leur adresser des prières pour les souverains, comme dans les *UPZ* 15 et 16 qui se terminent par une invocation à Isis et Sarapis en faveur du couple royal (resp. l. 42-48 et l. 30-33). Plus directement encore dans l'*UPZ* 14, Ptolémaïos justifie l'incorporation d'Apollonios dans la garnison de Memphis en ces termes: «pour que, vivant décemment, je puisse accomplir les sacrifices pour vous et vos enfants» (ὅπως διευσχημονῶν δύνωμαι ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς θυσίας ὑπέρ τε ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων, l. 27-29). On n'est pas si loin ici du cas des Jumelles menaçant à plusieurs reprises de quitter le temple si les différents retards dans leurs versements d'huile et de pain n'étaient pas régularisés³⁵. Mais, même si la réclusion assure la bienveillance des dieux, elle entraîne aussi une plus grande vulnérabilité dans la sphère quotidienne et justifie donc de ce point de vue également la sollicitude des souverains. Ainsi, dans l'*UPZ* 6 (octobre 163), Ptolémaïos prie le roi et la reine de reconnaître Démétrios fils de Sôsos

³³ Dans l'*UPZ* 15 apparaît l'expression «depuis l'an 10», ἀπὸ τοῦ ι (ἔτους) (l. 5), remplacée dans l'*UPZ* 16 par la tournure «jusqu'à maintenant», ἕως τοῦ νῦν (l. 5).

³⁴ Dans l'*UPZ* 20 Thauès et Taous soulignent aussi cette proximité en disant que Ptolémaïos les a recueillies «sur l'ordre du dieu», κατὰ πρόσταγμα δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ (l. 27). Cf. *UPZ* 18, l. 30: «le dieu ayant ordonné», τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπειτάξαντος.

³⁵ Cf. *UPZ* 24, 46, 47, 48, 50.

comme son défenseur officiel «car étant en réclusion, [il] ne [peut] pas ([se] défendre)»: litt. διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἐν κατοχεῖ ὄντα ἀδυνατεῖν (l. 36). Dans l'*UPZ* 9, il justifie d'une manière similaire l'aide que doit apporter le couple royal à ses frères en conflit avec les autorités de Psichis: «je vous prie et vous supplie, ô Dieux Sauveurs et Bienfaiteurs, de me prendre en considération, parce que je ne peux pas, en quittant le temple, les aider moi-même» (ὅτι οὐ δύνομαι ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀντιλαβέσθαι αὐτῶν, l. 10-11). Enfin dans l'*UPZ* 4 apparaît aussi la mention de la réclusion — «parce que je suis en réclusion», διὰ τὸ ἐν κ[ατο]χῇ με εἶναι (l. 4) — en liaison avec les revendications au sujet d'Héracléia.

PTOLÉMAIOS, PROTECTEUR DES JUMELLES

Un dernier élément des prescrits suscite l'intérêt mais aussi des questions non résolues: la manière dont en certaines occasions Ptolémaios se présente comme le protecteur des Jumelles, προεστικῶς (*UPZ* 43, 45 et peut-être aussi 36³⁶). De manière logique, ce titre n'apparaît que dans des documents rédigés pour Thauès et Taous³⁷. Il est en accord avec l'*UPZ* 20, dans lequel ces dernières évoquent elles-mêmes la προστασία de Ptolémaios (l. 28) mais aussi avec la lettre à Damoxénos dans laquelle le reclus explique que son seul souci est d'assurer la sécurité des deux sœurs dans l'avenir (*UPZ* 78, l. 40-41). Cependant, dans les prescrits en question, l'expression προεστικῶς τῶν διδυμῶν a été à chaque fois raturée. Est-ce parce que, comme l'a montré U. Wilcken, ce titre correspond davantage à un état de fait qu'à une responsabilité juridique³⁸? Pourtant, la qualité de προεστικῶς τῶν διδυμῶν était reconnue à Ptolémaios par l'administration: l'expression apparaît dans l'*UPZ* 23 (l. 3-4), rédigée par le *grammateus* Apollonios à l'attention de l'épimélète Ménidès, et dans les *UPZ* 25 et 26 (resp. l. 12-13 et l. 8) adressés par Ménidès à Théon, le fonctionnaire en charge de la délivrance de l'huile au *thesauros* de Memphis³⁹. Dans ces trois documents, Ptolémaios n'est d'ailleurs ni «fils de Glaukias», ni «Macédonien», ni même reclus: il s'agit simplement, tant

³⁶ Cf. U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 232, n. 4/5.

³⁷ Les trois pétitions sont adressées à l'hypodiocète Sarapion et concernent les retards survenus dans les livraisons de pain (*UPZ* 43 et 45) et d'huile (*UPZ* 36) dues aux Jumelles.

³⁸ U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

³⁹ Cf. U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 216, n. 1.

pour Apollonios que pour Ménidès, de rappeler à quel titre il est déjà intervenu en faveur des Jumelles. En revanche, nous n'avons pas trouvé d'explication au fait que l'expression ait été raturée dans les documents composés par Ptolémaios lui-même.

Jusqu'à présent, nous avons fondé notre réflexion sur les éléments d'identification contenus dans les prescrits des *UPZ*, en cherchant à comprendre de quelle manière certains de ces éléments étaient ensuite remobilisés dans les requêtes proprement dites. Il nous reste maintenant à examiner deux autres autodéfinitions qui n'apparaissent, quant à elles, que dans le corps des pétitions: celle d'Hellène et celle d'homme sans enfant, ἄτεκνος.

PTOLÉMAIOS, HELLÈNE PARMI LES ÉGYPTIENS

Si dans les prescrits Ptolémaios est un «Macédonien», dans le corps des pétitions il se définit en effet à trois reprises comme «Hellène»: dans l'*UPZ* 7 (l. 13-14), 8 (l. 14) et 15 (l. 16-17). Écartons l'idée d'une évolution qu'aurait vécue Ptolémaios dans la manière de se percevoir au fil des années. La datation des documents couvre en effet quasiment toute la période chronologique des pétitions: de 163 pour l'*UPZ* 7, l'un des plus anciens documents composés par Ptolémaios⁴⁰, à 156 pour l'*UPZ* 15, qui est aussi la plus récente des pétitions conservées, l'*UPZ* 8 ayant été quant à lui rédigé en 161. Le point commun réside en revanche dans le contexte dans lequel l'expression apparaît: à chaque fois en liaison avec la dénonciation des menées de certains membres du personnel égyptien du Sérapeum. Pour Ptolémaios, c'est en effet «parce qu'[il est] grec» — litt. *παρὰ τὸ Ἑλληνὰ με εἶναι*⁴¹ — qu'il a été la cible de violences. Nous ne reviendrons pas ici sur les doutes qui ont été émis quant à la pertinence de cette explication: comme D.J. Thompson l'a montré, bien d'autres motifs peuvent contribuer à expliquer les rapports conflictuels qu'entretenait Ptolémaios avec certains employés du Sérapeum⁴². Ajoutons simplement que, dans les autres aspects de sa vie, Ptolémaios ne semble pas

⁴⁰ La première des pétitions connues, l'*UPZ* 3, date d'octobre 164.

⁴¹ Ou, dans l'*UPZ* 15: *ἐνεκα [τοῦ] Ἑλληνὰ με [εἶ]ναι* (l. 16-17).

⁴² D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, p. 229-230 et "When Egypt divorced itself": *Ptolemaic tarachè and the elpis of Harchonesis*, dans *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, éd. A. LEAHY et J. TAIT, Londres 1999, p. 323.

avoir ressenti le besoin de faire valoir son identité d'Hellène⁴³ : ni dans les requêtes qu'il exprime en son nom propre (au sujet d'Héracléia, de la maison de Psichis, de l'incorporation d'Apollonios dans l'armée), ni dans les requêtes formulées pour les Jumelles. Ce n'est pas non plus sous cet aspect que le voient ces dernières, qui sont pourtant aussi des Égyptiennes : pour elles, il est uniquement un ami de leur père⁴⁴, un des reclus du Sérapeum et leur protecteur. C'est donc dans un contexte conflictuel bien précis, dans le cadre d'une confrontation violente avec des Égyptiens, que le terme d'Hellène apparaît, soit que ce terme ait été employé par les adversaires du reclus, soit que ce dernier ait ressenti avec plus d'acuité sa différence dans ces situations critiques.

Ptolémaïos, fils de clérouque macédonien, nous offre en tout cas à travers ces trois documents un intéressant exemple du phénomène d'intégration interne à la communauté des Hellènes en Égypte. Cela dit, il ne faut peut-être pas surestimer l'importance de cette auto-identification. La comparaison de l'UPZ 15 et de l'UPZ 16 est à cet égard instructive. Rappelons que ces deux textes correspondent à deux brouillons d'une pétition requérant en 156 un changement d'affectation pour Apollonios, que Ptolémaïos aimerait voir rapproché de Memphis. Dans les deux cas, Ptolémaïos justifie sa requête par le fait qu'il a le plus grand besoin d'un protecteur, étant en butte aux agressions des prêtres, des pastophores et d'autres «mauvaises gens» à l'intérieur du Sérapeum. Or, si dans l'UPZ 15, la première des deux versions selon U. Wilcken, il affirme que ces derniers s'en prennent à lui «parce qu'il est Grec (Hellène)», cette précision a disparu dans l'UPZ 16⁴⁵ ! Autant dire que la conscience qu'avait Ptolémaïos d'être un Grec n'était pas non plus obsédante. Reste que ce n'est pas en tant que Macédonien que notre personnage se plaint d'avoir été maltraité : l'ethnique demeure bien chez lui confiné dans la sphère de l'identité officielle. La différence mérite d'être notée avec Apollonios qui en 158, au sortir de l'adolescence, revendique son identité de Macédonien en insérant au bas de sa copie du Prologue du *Téléphe* d'Euripide les

⁴³ Même s'il exprime de manière indirecte cette identité par ses lectures, cf. D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, p. 252-265 et *Ptolemaios and 'The Lighthouse': Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum*, PCPhS 213 (1987), p. 105-121; M. CHAUVEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 242-244; B. LEGRAS, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis*.

⁴⁴ Voir *supra*, note 8.

⁴⁵ Cf. UPZ 15, l. 15-17 : «parce qu'il y a de mauvaises gens dans le temple et qu'ils m'assaillent parce que je suis grec», διὰ τ[ὸ] εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ [ιερ]ῷ πονηροῦ[ς] κάμει π[ολι]ορκεῖν, ἔνεκα [τοῦ] Ἑλληνά με εἶ[ν]αι, à comparer avec UPZ 16, l. 13 : «à cause des mauvaises gens dans le lieu», διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ πονηροῦς.

mots suivants: «Apollonios, un Macédonien (...), un Macédonien, je le dis franchement (ἀπλῆς λέγω)» (*P. Med.* I 15, l. 10-12)⁴⁶.

PTOLÉMAIOS, «PÈRE» SANS ENFANTS

Nous terminerons cette étude par les préoccupations de Ptolémaios en matière de paternité. Son absence de descendance est en effet pour le reclus un aspect non négligable de son identité sociale, qu'il met en avant dans le corps des pétitions. Le fait est évoqué dès les plus anciens éléments de ses papiers, la requête pour Héracléia: dans l'*UPZ* 3, la première des deux pétitions rédigées pour protester contre l'«enlèvement» d'Héracléia, Ptolémaios se définit comme un homme qui n'a «aucun enfant», ἡμεῖς τέκν[ο]ν (l. 5). Huit ans plus tard, en 158, il revient sur ce point dans l'*UPZ* 14 en se qualifiant d' ἄτεκνον (l. 13), «sans enfant». Or ces deux requêtes dans lesquelles Ptolémaios déplore son absence de descendance sont aussi celles dans lesquelles (avec l'*UPZ* 9) il revient sur la mort de Glaukias. Pour cet homme à l'arbre généalogique tranché, perte du père et absence de fils sont liées et accentuent manifestement un sentiment de solitude et de vulnérabilité déjà suscité par sa condition de reclus. Ainsi, dans l'*UPZ* 14, la disparition de Glaukias qui les a «lâchés», Apollonios et lui (ἀπολελοιπότος ἐμέ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον, l. 7-10)⁴⁷, sa longue vie de reclus (συνβάντος δὲ γεγονέναι με ἐν κατοχῇ (...) ἔτη ιε, l. 10-11, repris à la ligne 13: ἐν κατοχῇ ὄν), et le fait qu'il soit sans enfant (διὰ τὸ ἄτεκνόν με εἶναι, l. 13) sont les trois arguments que Ptolémaios avance successivement aux souverains pour faire valoir sa requête: obtenir l'intégration de son frère dans l'armée et,

⁴⁶ Voir B. LEGRAS, *La diglossie des katokhoi grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis (II^e siècle av. n.è.)* (à paraître); D.J. THOMPSON, *Ptolemaios and 'The Lighthouse'*, p. 116-117, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, p. 261, *Hellenistic Hellenes*, p. 314; M. CHAUVÉAU, *op. cit.*, p. 244. Cette mention suit le passage du Prologue dans lequel Télèphe affirme son identité de Grec isolé en terre barbare: «En Mysie le peuple m'a surnommé Télèphe: car je me suis établi dans une terre lointaine. Étant de race grecque, je régnai sans peine sur des Barbares, jusqu'au jour où les Achéens, avec une nombreuse armée, débarquèrent dans la plaine mysienne» (trad. R. GOOSSENS, *Le prologue du Télèphe d'Euripide*, *CdE* 11 [1936], p. 142). Apollonios se voit donc manifestement comme «un nouveau Télèphe parmi les Barbares» (M. CHAUVÉAU, *ibid.*). Sur ce point, il peut être rapproché du poète Méléagre de Gadara qui, une génération plus tard, définit sa cité natale comme une «nouvelle Attique parmi les Assyriens», Ἀτθίς ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις νατομένα (*Anth. Pal.* VII 417), à ceci près que le critère de civilisation, macédonien ou athénien, est différent.

⁴⁷ Cf. *UPZ* 9, l. 4-6: «mon père (...) ayant laissé derrière lui, et moi (...), et mes trois frères», τοῦ πατρός μου (...) καταλίποντος ἐμὲ μὲν (...), ἄλλα δὲ ἀδελφία μου τρία.

par ce biais, pouvoir «mener une vie décente et disposer d'un secours», διευσχημονεῖν καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχειν (l. 14).

Pourtant, ce n'est pas une image d'individu ἄτεκνος que lui renvoie le regard d'autrui. Au contraire, cet homme sans enfant est gratifié à plusieurs reprises du titre de «père». Tout d'abord par Apollonios: «À Ptolémaïos, (son) père», Πτολεμαῖοι τῷ πατρί, trouve-t-on dans les adresses des quatre lettres écrites par le cadet à son aîné (UPZ 65, 68, 70, 93), y compris dans celle qui n'est ni plus ni moins qu'une lettre de rupture: l'UPZ 70, de l'été 152; au contraire, lorsqu'Apollonios écrit à ses deux autres frères, Hippalos et Sarapion, ceux-ci sont désignés simplement par leur nom (UPZ 74) ou par le terme d'ἀδελφός (UPZ 73 et SB V 7618)⁴⁸. De même, les Jumelles Thauès et Taous dans l'UPZ 20 expliquent aux souverains que «la plupart de ceux qui ignorent la raison pour laquelle Ptolémaïos [leur] assure (sa) protection pourraient légitimement l'appeler (leur) père»: «ὥστ' ἂν φανερώς λέγειν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀγνοούντων, δι' ἣν ποιεῖται ἡμῶν προστασίαν, πατέρα» (l. 28-29). Au demeurant, c'est dans ce seul domaine que l'on peut observer une contradiction entre l'identité affirmée par Ptolémaïos et celle qui lui est attribuée par autrui. Pour le reste en effet, Ptolémaïos est bien considéré par ceux qui le côtoient comme fils de Glaukias, Macédonien (UPZ 14, l. 62; UPZ 20, l. 23), reclus (UPZ 18, l. 29; UPZ 19, l. 21-22; UPZ 20, l. 24) et protecteur des Jumelles (UPZ 23, l. 3-4; UPZ 25, l. 12-13; UPZ 26, l. 8).

Que retenir de ces différentes facettes de l'identité de Ptolémaïos? Quasiment omniprésent, l'ethnique «Macédonien» fait véritablement figure d'identité officielle, mais il reste aussi cantonné à ce domaine. Ptolémaïos ne l'intériorise pas à la manière d'Apollonios dans le *P. Med.* I 15, ni ne l'exprime en dehors des prescrits: s'il veut définir son origine, il le fait en se désignant géographiquement comme «homme de l'Héracléopolite» et culturellement comme «Hellène», mais pas comme Macédonien. En revanche, l'identité «fils de Glaukias» fait l'objet d'un investissement plus profond, sans doute affectif et à coup sûr utilitaire. Elle peut être mobilisée de deux manières par Ptolémaïos: soit l'accent est mis sur sa qualité de fils de militaire, descendant d'un homme qui a

⁴⁸ Au demeurant, il en va de même lorsqu'Apollonios parle de Ptolémaïos à la troisième personne dans l'UPZ 13: «mon frère aîné Ptolémaïos», τοῦ προσβυτέρου ἀδελφοῦ ἰδίου Πτολεμαίου (UPZ 13, l. 13-15).

bien servi le roi, soit sur celle de fils orphelin, d'autant plus dépourvu de soutien qu'il n'a pas lui-même d'enfant. Enfin, une importance plus grande encore est accordée par Ptolémaios à son identité de reclus. Comme celle de «Macédonien», elle apparaît comme un élément clef de son identité sociale, comme celle de «fils de Glaukias» elle sert aussi à appuyer ses prétentions; mais elle reste la seule des identités examinées ici qui l'accompagne jusque dans ses rêves⁴⁹.

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⁴⁹ Cf. *UPZ* 77 et 78.

THE ARCHIVE OF TAEMBES, A FEMALE BREWER IN THE HERACLEOPOLITE NOME

Abstract: A group of nine receipts for beer tax from Hibeh in the 3rd century BC are linked by Taembes, a woman who probably functioned as a tax farmer in Talae (Heracleopolite nome). The receipts were written in double, with a short inner and a full outer text and followed by a subscription in demotic, which has thus far remained unpublished.

In 1907 Grenfell and Hunt published nine beer tax receipts from a single mummy case (A 15) found at el-Hibeh. The texts are all written across the fibres, they contain identical formulas, and date from two successive years, years 2 and 3 of an unnamed king, no doubt Ptolemy III. They are double documents, with a short *scriptura interior* and a full *scriptura exterior*¹. At some time the *scriptura interior* was no doubt sealed, as is clear from the seal hole between upper and lower text². At the end is in each case a Greek signature in a second hand by a certain Dorion and a subscription in demotic³.

The monthly payments are made to the logeuterion at Phebichis, the main centre of the Koites toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome⁴ and range from 8 to 20 dr⁵. The tax payers are brewers and are, according to the editors, all «representatives of Taembes», who apparently lived at Talae, a village of the same toparchy⁶.

¹ For this kind of small format documents (*symbola*) written in double, often receipts, see H.J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Aegyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*, II, München 1978, p. 75-77. The Hibeh texts fit Wolff's description: they are receipts issued by government officials and contain subscriptions both in demotic and in Greek.

² This hole is clearly visible in **140** and **141**. In **137** the lozenge-shaped hole has been filled up with papyrus, no doubt in the cartonnage, but is still visible.

³ With thanks to S.P. Vleeming (Trier), who kindly looked at my transcriptions of the demotic. Figures in **bold** refer to *P. Hib. I*.

⁴ For Phebichis, see M.R. FALIVENE, *The Herakleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms with Introduction and Commentary (American Studies in Papyrology, 37)*, Atlanta 1998, p. 241-245.

⁵ For the logeuterion at Phebichis and its personnel, trapezites (banker) and dokimastes (money checker), see R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 120 (1998), p. 183-184. In Bogaert's survey of the taxes paid to the logeuterion in *AncSoc* 29 (1998-1999), the beer tax is discussed on p. 120-121.

⁶ Talae is mentioned in **106**, **[107]**, **139**, **140** and **141**. For this village, see M.R. FALIVENE, *op.cit.*, p. 207-208. On Falivene's map Phebichis and Talae are just 7 km distant.

<i>P.Hib.</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>bank personnel</i>	<i>tax payer</i>	<i>amount</i>
140	yr. 2, Hathyr 16	Pason banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Libys (Talaë)	19 dr.
138	yr. 2, Hathyr 24	Pason banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Harendotes	8 dr.
106	yr. 2, Hathyr 30	Pason banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Harendotes (Talaë)	20 dr.
107	yr. 3, Pauni 30	Nikolaos banker [Stotoetis] dokimastes	[- -]stis (Talaë)	[20 dr. ?]
136	yr. 3, Pachon 13	Nikolaos banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Petosiris (Talaë)	20 dr. for 2 months
141	yr. 3, Pachon 22	Nikolaos banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Petosiris	15 dr. 3 ob.
137	yr. 3, Pachon 30	Nikolaos banker Stotoetis dokimastes	Petosiris	18 dr.
<i>SB XII</i> 10783 (139)	[yr. 3, Pha]ophi	Herakleios banker Nikolaos dokimastes	Petosiris (Talaë)	9 dr.
142	??	Herakleios banker Nikolaos dokimastes	??	12 dr.

Normally receipts should end up in the hands of the person who paid the tax, in this case the brewers. The demotic subscriptions confirm that these were not copies kept by the bank, but documents destined for the (Egyptian) tax-payers. The receipts were, however, given to four different tax-payers (Libys, Harendotes, [- -]stis and Petosiris), who apparently succeeded each other in time. In the view of the editors all four act for a certain Taembes, who lived at Talaë. Taembes was therefore an important person in the beer business at Talaë. As was shown by the editors of *P. Yale I*, p. 133, she was probably a tax farmer. It is remarkable, therefore, that she was a woman, as can be seen from her name, which probably means «She of (the goddess) *Hnb*»⁷.

⁷ For the snake goddess *Hnb*, who was mainly worshipped in the Heracleopolite nome, see M. THIRION, *Notes d'onomastique*, *Rev. d'Eg.* 37 (1986), p. 136-137 and 42 (1991),

There is, however, a problem of reading and interpretation at this point of the texts. Grenfell and Hunt clearly indicate that instead of the expected genitive article τοῦ the papyri have only το. Considering this an abbreviation, they read it as το(ῦ). This is, however, most unusual in Ptolemaic papyri, and it is preferable not to correct the texts and to take τό as the neuter singular article⁸. In *P. Hib.* I 106 for instance we read: πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμ Φεβίχι λογευτήριον - - παρα Ἑρενδώτου τὸ [not το(ῦ)] παρὰ Ταεμβέους ἐκ Ταλάη ζυτηρᾶς εἰς τὸν Ἀθύρ «There has been paid into the collecting office at Phebichis - - from Harendotes the (amount) due from Taembes in Talae for beer tax on account of Hathyr». By this reading Harendotes (and the other tax payers) still pay for Taembes, but they are no longer called her representatives.

All texts are followed by a one-line demotic subscription, one text (140) has in addition a line of demotic on the back. It is typical of the relationship between Greek and demotic papyrology that in no case this demotic line has been published. When Hunt and Edgar republished 106 in *Select Papyri* II 375, they did not even mention the presence of the demotic at the bottom. This demotic evidence is therefore presented here for the first time. It is unfortunately damaged in every single case. We think we can identify the name *Ta-hnb* on the back of 140, but unfortunately the traces are too indistinct to be sure.

107 belonged to the collection of Leipzig, but was lost in World War II and no photographs are available⁹. According to the Oxyrhynchus checklist 136 is now in the Cairo museum, but as the inventory number is not known, it has not been possible to localise this text. In 142 the demotic line is illegible.

In the following texts the demotic has been partially preserved:

141 (Columbia University; photo available on the APIS site): this is the best preserved item and most of the others can only be read by comparison to the Columbia piece.

p. 230, D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Rev. d'Ég.* 51 (2000), p. 29-31, and C. LEITZ, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, V (OLA, 114), Leuven 2002, p. 220. For the rendering of *Hnb* by -εμβης in Greek, see *P. Count* I 49 l. 12 note.

⁸ In *SB* XII 10782 l. 6 τοῦ should be corrected into τό (on a photo kindly provided by Marilyn Parca).

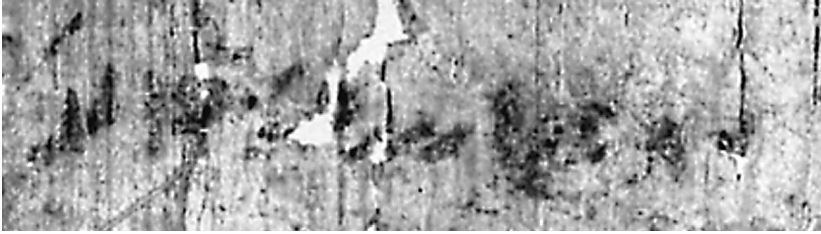
⁹ Information provided by D. Colomo.



ⲓⲓⲣⲏⲣ ⲡⲃ-ⲉⲱⲱⲓⲣ ⲱⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲧⲏⲣ

i.ir.hr P3-di-Wsir s3 Nh.t-Hr followed by an amount in kite. From the Greek one expects 7 1/2 kite 3 ob., but the figure looks rather like 3 followed by a fraction. Mark Depauw suggests 3 kite 5/6, which would be half of the expected sum.

SB XII 10783 (Chicago, McCormick Theological Seminar): the beginning of the line is less well preserved than in 141, but the text is clearly the same. The line is not broken off to the left and there are no figures either here or on the next line.

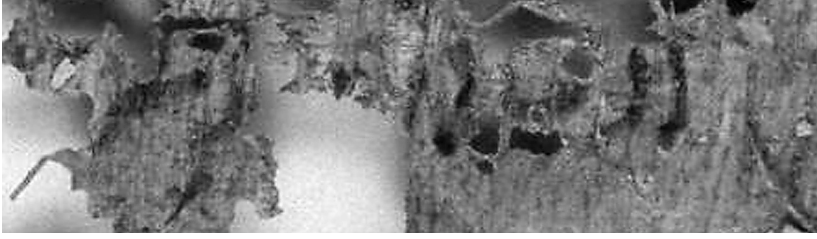


ⲓⲓⲣⲏⲣ ⲡⲃ-ⲉⲱⲱⲓⲣ ⲱⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲧⲏⲣ

i.ir.hr P3-di-'Wsir s3 Nh.t-Hr

In 137 the last line is severely damaged and only the beginning is preserved¹⁰. This can be deciphered only thanks to 141.

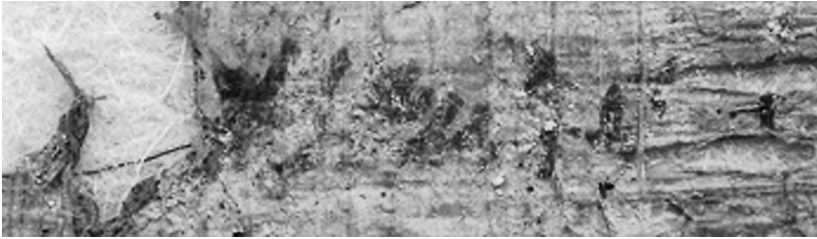
¹⁰ A photo is available on the APIS site under the APIS number p643. The papyrus has a number in red ink AM 4433 and some plaster of the cartonnage is preserved at the bottom.



Handwritten Demotic script in black ink, consisting of two groups of characters. The first group on the left is a single character with several short, parallel strokes above it. The second group on the right is a larger, more complex character also with several short, parallel strokes above it.

i.ir.ḥr [P3-di-Wsir] s3 Nḥt-[Ḥr - - -

140 (Bruxelles, MRAH E5959) presents again the same formula followed by the same name. The beginning is largely lost.

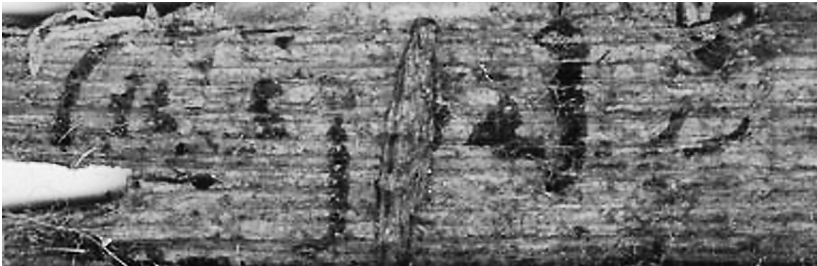


[i.ir.]ḥr P3-di-Wsir s3 Nḥt-Ḥr - - -

Since the Greek receipt is addressed to Libys, the appearance of Petosiris here is unexpected.

This text also has one line of demotic also on the back:

– before cleaning:



– after cleaning:



p3 ḥq (?) n-dr.t Ta-ḥnb 9 [1/2]

The payment (?) from Taembes 9.5 (kite)

As the first word is masculine, it cannot be the word for beer (*ḥq(.t)*), which is feminine. The reading of the following word is guesswork, the only certain sign being the divine determinative at the end. The reading *Ta-ḥnb* is just possible, when compared to the writings of that name offered by Devauchelle in *Rev d'Eg.* 51, p. 29 and 31. The initial *h* is largely missing, but the few remaining traces could fit a high-rising sign; the *b* is clear and then follows a divine determinative. The snake determinative which is usually found is not there and the reading may be wishful thinking after all. The figure 9, ending in a long flourish below, is clear and 9 1/2 kite correspond to the 19 drachmas mentioned in the main text on the recto.

138 (Graz, Univ. Ms. I 1932): the demotic bottom line is badly preserved, but enough is visible to establish that it does not correspond to **141**. It apparently starts with *i.ir-ḥr* = «in front of», which should be followed by a personal name.



ایر

i.ir.ḥr..[

The new evidence from the demotic lines is limited, but intriguing. In most cases it mentions «Petosiris son of Nechtyris», probably as payer. It is tempting to identify him with the Petosiris who is mentioned in **136**, **137**, **139** (= *SB* XII 10783) and **141**. But Petosiris son of Nechtyris also occurs in **140**, where Libys is the payer, not Petosiris. It therefore cannot be ruled out that he is a different person.

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Onderzoekseenheid Oude Geschiedenis

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HIERAKAPOLLON, THE TITLE OF PANOS POLIS AND THE NAMES IN –APOLLON*

Abstract: Onomastic study of theophoric names compounded with -apollon as their second element. These names are typical of Roman Egypt, especially the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. They are both Greek and Egyptian, depending on the first part of the name. Some of them are limited to a particular part of Egypt, e.g. the Panopolite (Hierakapollon, Besapollon, Horapollon), the Hermopolite (Heraklapollon, Hermapollon) and the Arsinoite nomes (Isapollon) and illustrate the religious particularisms of Egypt up to the late Roman period.

The name Hierakapollon (Ἱερακαπόλλων) is a compound made from the noun “hierax” (falcon) and the name of the god “Apollon”, who in his Egyptian equivalent is the god “Horus” (Ἱέραξ + Ἀπόλλων). Since Horus is represented as a hawk, the name combines an Egyptian (the sacred bird, Πβήκις as a personal name; see *P.Oxy.* 984, p. 120) and a Greek (Apollon) rendering of the same god.

The name is first attested for an Arsinoite strategos in the late second century AD (*BGU* I 12 = *W.Chr.* 389, 7; AD 181-182). Then it occurs from the third century AD to the middle of the fourth century AD, mainly in the mid-third century (see also *DNB* 10, p. 735). Even though the name is not restricted to a single area, the evidence from the Panopolite nome is preponderant. Half of the forty examples (mainly in *P. Berl. Bork.*) come from the Panopolite nome: *SB* X 10270, 57, 6 (AD 226/7-229); *P. Panop. Beatty* I 276, 287, 351 (AD 298); *P. Berl. Bork. passim* (AD 298-330); *P. Leit.* 10, 1 (III-IV AD); *P. Panop.* 31, A 2, B 9, 13 (AD 329); *P. Panop.* 22, 2, 14 (AD 336); *P. Dubl.* 21, 7 (AD 337); *SB* I 1265, 1 and 3447, 2¹.

* I would like to thank W. Clarysse for his valuable comments.

¹ In six instances the place of origin is doubtful: *T. Mom. Louvre* 705, B, 1 (II-III AD), 958, 2 (II-III AD), *SB* I 776, 2, 3 (AD 259) and *SB* VI 9602, 11, 1, 3 (unknown date) are mummy labels (and most of these are Panopolite. Also, *P. Nag. Hamm.* 22, Fr. I, 2, 14 (IV-VII AD) is from a place close to Achmim. Without further indication: *SB* IV 7375, 5, 27 (AD 222-35); *P. Iand.* VIII 152, 11 (AD 311-312). From other areas there are: *Portes du désert*, 10, 8 (Antinoou polis; II AD); *O. Wilck.* 1610, 1 (Syene; II-III AD); *P. Rein.* III 142, 5 (Dios polis Magna, AD 218); *P. Oxy.* LXVII 4590, 11, 21 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 231); *P. Oxy.* LVIII 3927, 3 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 246); *SB* XIV 11547, Fr. B, 17, 19 (strategos of the chora of the Alexandrians, AD 252-253); *P. Oxy.* XLII 3067, 1, 15 (Oxyrhynchos, III AD); *O. Wilb.* 36, 1 (Syene, III AD); *Portes du désert*, 15, 4 (Antinoou polis; III AD); *SB* XVI 12692, 1, 3 (Karanis, AD 339); *P. Col.* VII 160, *passim* (Karanis, AD 345-354); 161,

Many persons with that name are members of *boulai*². *SB IV 7375*, of unknown provenance, refers to a city with the epithets ἀρχαία καὶ σεμνοτάτη (l. 8; cf. *BL* 4, p. 79). This city can be neither Oxyrhynchon polis nor Hermou polis, which have different epithets³. The name Hierakapolon attested in lines 5 and 27 could point to Panos polis. However, the epithets of Panos polis are not well known⁴. On a photo of *SB IV 7375*, at the beginning of l. 8, there are four uncertain letters. We can see the letters γ and ρ and before the certain πόλεως there is room for a ζ, similar to that of Λευλλᾶτος in l. 9. The first letter after the lacuna looks like an α. Consequently, we could restore [Π]αγὸ[ζ] πόλεως.

Generally, the study of personal names found in the papyri and inscriptions from Egypt may contribute toward determining the provenance or date of the text or supplying a lacuna or resolving an abbreviation⁵. Names ending in -apollon, for instance, are not found outside Egypt⁶.

3, 23 (Karanis, AD 345-351); *SB I 1543*, 1 (Naukratis, no date). In the *Vita of Pachomius* (see F. HALKIN, *Le corpus athénien de saint Pachome* [Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 2], Genève 1982), 20, a monk with this name is mentioned.

² See *P. Col.* VII, p. 103, n. 28; cf. also *P. Oxy.* LXVII 4590, 11. 21.

³ For the epithets of Oxyrhynchon polis or Oxyrhynchiton polis see D. HAGEDORN, Ὁξυρύγχων πόλις und ἡ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις, *ZPE* 12 (1973), p. 277-292. For the epithets of Hermou polis see N. LITINAS, *Hermou polis of the Thebais*, *APF* 41 (1995), p. 66-84.

⁴ See A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario* 4, p. 42.

⁵ For the benefits of such a study see also D. HOBSON, *Naming Practices in Roman Egypt*, *BASP* 26 (1989), p. 157-174 and Fr. DUNAND, *Les noms théophores en -ammon. A propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du III^e siècle p.C.*, *CE* 38 (1963), p. 134-146, and the contributions in the volume edited by S. HORNBLOWER – E. MATTHEWS, *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence*, Oxford 2000. See also *P. Oxy.* 984, p. 114, note 1 and O. MASSON, *Quand le nom Πτολεμαῖος était à la mode*, *ZPE* 98 (1993), p. 165 n. 61 («le sujet mériterait une étude particulière»), discussing this kind of names.

⁶ Moreover, in Greece the name Ἀπόλλων is not attested for persons; cf. P.M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. I. *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1987; M.J. OSBORNE – S.G. BYRNE, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. II. *Attica*, Oxford 1994; P.M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IIIA. *Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia*, Oxford 1997; P.M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IIIB. *Central Greece: from the Megarid to Thessaly*, Oxford 2000, where personal names with first compound Ἀπολλ- are attested, but never the name Ἀπόλλων itself; an example from Cyrenaica (Vol. I, p. 52) is doubtful. Cf. also H. MAYERSAHM, *Deorum nomina hominibus imposita*, Diss. Kiel 1891, p. 10-13 and E. SITTING, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris*, 1911, p. 31ff., where there is no reference to the name Ἀπόλλων, but only to its derivatives; The name Ἀπόλλων in Mayersahm's thesis, p. 12, is now resolved as Ἀπολλών(ιος) (*IG* II² 1817). L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 15. In Fr. DORNSEIFF – B. HANSEN, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1957, p. 115, s.v. -λων, the only examples come from Egypt (citing Fr. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922). On the other hand, the Romans used the

The evidence so far shows that these names were formed in the Roman period, on a small scale in the second century AD and mainly in the third century AD. Some of them were used within a single nome, others were popular all over Egypt. There are three types of names: (a) two divine names (Greek or Egyptian) were combined to form a personal name, e.g. Hermapollon, Hierakapollon etc.; (b) Greek composita of the type Philapollon, Diskapollon; (c) an Egyptian prefix, followed by the name of a Greek god, e.g. Papollon, Senapollon, etc. The first two types are Greek names, usually born by people of the Greek upper classes (*bouleutai*, house owners etc.) and what J. Bingen calls «noms grecs d'Égypte»⁷. It is not clear whether the naming practice was based on a Greco-Egyptian interpretation of the religion (e.g. Hierakapollon, Hermapollon⁸ or Isapollon⁹) or on the wish to give children nice, favourable, euphonous and melodious names (e.g. Diskapollon or Philapollon)¹⁰. The third type are Egyptian names with a Greek god as second component. These people seem to be Egyptians, bearing an Egyptian-looking name.

name 'Apollo' as a cognomen; see H. MAYERSAHM, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15. See also O. MASON, *Nouvelles notes d'anthroponymie grecque*, XII. *La liste de Léontopolis SEG 40, 1568 et son onomastique*, ZPE 112 (1996), p. 143-144; «On ne s'attardera pas sur les noms divins qui sont utilisés comme anthroponymes sans aucune modification morphologique. Ainsi Ἀπόλλων (41, 58), Ἑρμῆς (33), Ἥφαιστος (17, 20, 45, 47) ou Ἡρακλῆς (14, 25, 31, 57); leur usage se répand durant l'époque impériale dans diverses régions, suivant les modes locales. En Égypte, ils correspondent à des divinités locales assimilées d'après des règles connues».

⁷ J. BINGEN, *Pages d'épigraphie grecque* I, p. 103-104 n. 7.

⁸ For the relation of Thoth (Hermes) and Apollon in Egypt (Hermou polis, Parva or Magna), see C.J. BLEEKER, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion (Studies in the History of Religions, 26)*, Leiden 1973, p. 151-155.

⁹ Cf. for instance the cult of Hermanoubis in the later Hellenistic period; see L. KAKOSY, *Probleme des Synkretismus im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, in: P. NAGEL (ed.), *Referate der VI. Koptologischen Arbeitskonferenz 27.-29. April 1988*, Halle 1990, p. 143-145.

¹⁰ There is also the difficulty to distinguish or to clear up whether the ending -apollon refers to a person or the god. Clemens, *Protrepticus* II 28.3, discusses the difficulty of stating which Apollo is mentioned every time: ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστέλης πρῶτον Ἥφαιστον καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ), δεύτερον ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Κύρβαντος, τρίτον τὸν Διὸς καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιληνοῦ· Νόμιος οὗτος κέκληται παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν· ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τὸν Λίβυν καταλέγει τὸν Ἀμμωνος· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τοῦτοις ἔκτον ἐπιφέρει τὸν Μάγνητος. Πόσοι δὲ καὶ νῦν Ἀπόλλωνες, ἀναρίθμητοι θνητοὶ καὶ ἐπικηροὶ τινες ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶν, οἱ παραπλησίως τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐκείνοις κεκλημένοι. In this text Apollo in Libya was apparently considered the son of Ammon (probably because of the oracle in Siwa?).

In particular, the following names (cited in alphabetic order below) are known¹¹:

GROUP 1

1. Βησαπόλλων (Βῆς + Ἀπόλλων): The name is attested in two fourth-century documents, *P. Lips.* I 46, 5, 19 (*BL* I, p. 208) (Panos polis, AD 371) and *SB* V 7666, 3 (Panos polis, AD 330), and one sixth-century document, *SB* XX 14467, 8 (unknown provenance). In the second example the person with the name Besapollon is referred to as ἀπὸ Τῆος. P. Pruneti¹² and A. Calderini – S. Daris¹³ locate this village in the Oxyrhynchite nome. However, there is another village Τῆις, probably in the Panopolite nome¹⁴. Moreover, we have to take into account that the genitive Τῆος is not the same with the form Τῆεως, which points to a nominative Τῆις. The interchange of ο and ω is a frequent spelling mistake¹⁵, but the interchange of ο and εω is not found. Also, names of the third declination ending in -ις do not have a genitive -ος¹⁶.

The Egyptian God Bes (Βής) was sometimes equated with Herakles. Although neither the cult of Apollon nor Herakles is attested in Panos polis, personal names composed with Βησ- are frequent in the Panopolite nome¹⁷. The name Βησαπόλλων is clearly adopted by inhabitants of that area of the Panopolite nome.

2. Ἑρμαπόλλων (Ἑρμῆς + Ἀπόλλων): The use of the name Hermapollon in the Hermopolite nome is predictable, because Hermes was the main god of the nome¹⁸. The evidence is distributed as follows:

¹¹ In *P. Nag. Hamm.* 23, FrD, 5, 8 (after AD 298), Ἰπολλωνος, the editors note that this name could be restored as Πόλλωνος, Ἀπολλωνος, or a compound. The name Πόλλων should be excluded; see my note in *Korr., Tyche* 9 (1994), no. 120.

¹² *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite. Repertorio toponomastico (Pap. Flor., IX)*, p. 203-204 n. 5.

¹³ *Dizionario* IV, p. 407.

¹⁴ See St. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1992, V, p. 2566.

¹⁵ Cf. F.T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Period* I, p. 183ff.

¹⁶ Cf. F.T. GIGNAC, *op. cit.* II, p. 75ff.

¹⁷ Cf. *P. Berl. Bork.*, *passim*; *P. Panop.* 1, *passim*; *P. Panop. Beatty*, *passim*.

¹⁸ For the cult of Hermes in Hermou polis see G. MÉAUTIS, *Hermoupolis-la-Grande*, Lausanne 1918, p. 20-23; cf. also A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario* II, p. 173; Z. BORKOWSKI, *Local Cults and Resistance to Christianity*, *JJP* 20 (1998), p. 28-29.

	I AD	III AD	IV AD	V AD	VI-VII AD
Hermopolite nome ¹⁹	1 ²⁰	3 ²¹	44 ²²	5 ²³	3 ²⁴
Arsinoite nome	1 ²⁵				
Tentyra	1 ²⁶				
Antinoopolite nome		1 ²⁷		1 ²⁸	
Oxyrhynchite nome				1 ²⁹	
Mons Claudianus	1 ³⁰				

¹⁹ In four other cases Hermapollon can be connected with the Hermopolite nome: *P. Amst.* I 70, ii 20 (II-III AD), where the large number of names derived from the name Hermes (e.g. ll. 6, 13, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 34, 38) points to a Hermopolite provenance; *P. Herm.* I 85, 1 (VII AD), a papyrus found in Hermou polis; for *P. Lond.* V 1801 and 1802 see *P. Lond.* V 1800, 3 n.

The place of origin of the persons with the name Hermapollon is doubtful in the following examples: *SB XVIII* 13167, v ii 29 (II AD); *P. Lund.* II 4 (= *SB V* 8091), 2 (III AD); *P. Select* 18, 2 (IV AD); *P. Lond.* III 1244, 2 (IV AD); *P. Lips.* 98, i 6 (IV AD); *ChLA XI* 470, 7, 10 (AD 458); *P. Laur.* I 18 (IV-V AD); *P. Stras.* VIII 717, 6 (V AD); *P. Lond. Kopt.* 1075, p. 448; *BGU XVII* 2689, 17, 19 (VI AD); cf. also the name Ἑρμαπόλλωνία in *T. Mom. Louvre* 592, 2 (III AD). J.G. MILNE, *Mus. Caire*, p. 22, no. 33028 (= *SB I* 678?), l. 29 (c. AD 200), an inscription found in Karnak, mentions several παλαισταί, presumably from different areas in Egypt. Consequently, Ἑρμαπόλλων Φιδίου in l. 29 could come from the Hermopolite nome.

Some of these persons had an alias; cf. *CPR VIII* 45, 4 Ἑρμαπόλλων δς καὶ [Ἐ]ρμαίαις; *P. Amstel.* I 70, ii 20 Ἑρμαπόλλων ὁ καὶ Ἑλ; *P. Lips.* I 4, 7, 26; 5 ii 14 (cf. *P. Stras.* VI 594, Fr. A and B) Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμαπόλλων ὁ καὶ Διόσκορος.

²⁰ *SB VIII* 9869, B, 7, 20 (AD 160).

²¹ *P. Flor.* I 2, 14, 178 (AD 265); *MChr.* 171, i 7, 26, 33, 11 3, 14 (AD 293); *P. Stras.* VI 594, Fr. A 4, Fr. B 20 (AD 293-294).

²² *P. Vind. Sijp.* 15, 1, 20, 23 (III-IV AD); *CPR XVIIA* 3, 25 (AD 314); *SB XIV* 11972, Fr. A, 5 (= *SB XXII* 15311, AD 367-368); *SB XXXIV* 16319 col. 1, 13, 38) (first half of IV AD); *P. Lips.* 23, 32 (AD 374-390); *P. Lips.* 17, 29 (AD 377); *SB XVI* 12828, 18 (IV AD); *CPR VIII* 45, 4 (IV AD); *P. Herm. Landl.* 1 *passim* (29 examples) (IV AD); *P. Lips.* 99, 8 (IV AD); 100, 17 (IV AD); 101, 29, 30 (IV AD); *P. Lond.* V 1826 (IV AD); *P. Ryl.* IV 651, 3 (IV AD); *P. Stras.* VIII 739, 14 (IV AD); 777, 15 (IV AD).

²³ *P. Laur.* I 18, 3, 11 (IV-V AD); *CPR V* 16, r, 5 (AD 486); *SB XIV* 12050, r, 34 (AD 498); *P. Amh.* II 155, 2, 3, 4, 5 (V AD); *PSI IV* 304, 7 (V AD).

²⁴ *P. Prag.* II 158, 22 (V-VI AD); *SB XVI* 12603, 12 (VI-VII AD); *P. Sorb.* II 69, 28, 50, 52; 69, 29, A 2, B 1; 39, A 1; 47, B1, 3, 7; 67, B, 1; 84, E 22; 115, D 5 (VII AD).

²⁵ *BGU IX* 1898, 230 (Theadelphia, AD 172). The name is abbreviated, Ἑρμαπό(λλωνος).

²⁶ *O. Ont. Mus.* II 287 (= *SB IV* 7392), iii 14 (after AD 130). Ἑρμαπόλλων, attested in the ostrakon from Tentyra, could not have been from this same area. Many names in this text are not attested elsewhere in the ostraca from Thebes; e.g. Βησῶς Ἀντινοεύς (i.e. from the Antinoou polis). Therefore, the Ἑρμαπόλλων of this ostrakon could be from the area of the Hermopolite nome which bordered on the Antinoopolite nome.

²⁷ *P. Corn.* 12, 7, 13, 25 (AD 282-283).

²⁸ *PSI XII* 1239 (= *SB V* 7996), 26 (AD 430). Ἑρμαπόλλων, who signs the contract of the sale of the house, is referred to as οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀντινόου, which means that he was not from this city.

3. Ἡρακλαπόλλων (Ἡρακλῆς + Ἀπόλλων)³¹: The name is attested in *P. Stras.* I 23 8, 13b, 67, (Hermou polis; I-II AD); *P. Ryl.* II 77, 33 (Hermou polis, AD 192); *SPP* XX 58, fr. A, 1, 17 (Hermou polis, AD 265-266); i V 7 (Hermou polis, III AD); *I. Herm.* 16, 3 (Hermou polis, Roman period); *SB* IV 7309, 3 (Hermou polis, no date). The name was mainly used in Hermou polis from the second century AD to the mid-third century AD. Therefore, *SB* IV 7309 should probably be dated within this period.

4. Ἱερακαπόλλων (Ἱέραξ + Ἀπόλλων): see above.

5. Ἱσαπόλλων / Εἰσαπόλλων (Ἱσις + Ἀπόλλων): see *P. Princ.* I 8, 8, 9 (Ἱσ[α]πόλ(λωνος)) and *SB* XX 14576, iii 18 (Philadelphieia, Arsinoite nome, after AD 46-47) Εἰσαπό(λλωνι); *ibid.*, xix 525 Ἱσαπόλ(λωνι); *SB* III 6821, 2 (Thebes, AD 161) Εἰσαπό(λλωνος); *SB* I 4124 l. 239 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite nome, AD 193) Ἱσαπ(όλλων)³²; *P. Congr.* XV 19, 1 (Arsinoite nome, III AD) Ἱσαπόλλων; *P. Lond.* I 113 (1) (p. 199), 100 (Arsinoite nome, VI AD)??? Εἰσαπόλλων; *P. Haun.* III 52, 5 (unknown provenance, VI-VII AD) Ἱ[σαπ]όλλων[ος]³³. All localized examples — except one from Thebes, which is doubtful, because the name is abbreviated — come from the Arsinoite nome. Probably *P. Haun* III 52 has the same provenance.

6. Λυκαπόλλων (Λύκος + Ἀπόλλων): The name is attested only once, in *P. Mich.* XII 652, 6, 19 (Karanis, c. AD 312). The first part of the name could be either Λύκος (see *P. Oxy.* 984, p. 120 and 121 s.v.) or Λύκων, both well-attested in the rest of the Mediterranean world: see *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB s.v. In Egypt these names are mainly attested in the Arsinoite nome (about 90%).

²⁹ *P. Oxy.* XVI 1949, 1 (AD 481). The later attestation of the name in the Oxyrhynchite and Antinoopolite nome may be due to a small-scale adoption of the name by the neighbouring to the Hermopolite nomes.

³⁰ *O. Claud.* II 374, 4 (middle of II AD).

³¹ On the affiliation of Herakles and Apollo/Harpokrates in the Graeco-Roman world see R.E. WITT, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, London 1971, p. 214.

³² Corrected by N. LITINAS, *Akten des 23. Intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, Wien 2007, p. 405.

³³ Also, cf. the uncertain meaning of letters ισαπολου in *SB* XXII 15230, recto 6 (unknown provenance, IV AD).

7. Σαραπαπόλλων or Ὑσαραπόλλων (Σάραπισ / Ὑσσιρις + Ἀπόλλων): Both names are attested in the Delta; see *BGU* II 649, 7 (Pharbaithites nome, AD 187-189) Σαραπαπόλλων; *P. Brux.* I 18, 2, 16, 27 (Prosopites nome, AD 174) Ὑσαραπόλλων. The name derives from the names Ὑσσιρις (or Σάραπισ) and Ἀπόλλων³⁴.

8. Ὠραπόλλων (Ὠρος + Ἀπόλλων)³⁵: See *P. Cair. Masp.* III 67295, i 1, ii 24 (Antinoe, V AD). Grandfather and grandson were both called Horapollon; the grandfather was a distinguished grammarian, poet-scholar and perhaps even teacher of philosophy (φιλόσοφος in the papyrus) in Alexandria³⁶. The family originated, however, from Phenebythis in the Panopolite nome. The Egyptian god Horus was equated with the Greek Apollon (cf. also Hierakapollon) and this name combines the same god in two different pantheons³⁷. The name Ὠραπολλῶ is found in *P. Bodl.* I 73, 3, 10 (reign of Heraclius), for a person from the Herakleopolite nome.

GROUP 2

1. Δισκαπόλλων (Δίσκος + Ἀπόλλων): The name is attested in a papyrus from Panos polis, *P. Berl. Bork.* xiii, 30 (AD 298-330). Σεσκαπόλλων has been regarded as an equivalent of Δισκαπόλλων; see below s.v. In the Hermopolite nome one finds the name Δισκάμμων (*SB XVIII* 13148, 19, dated to the fourth century AD), formed in a similar way as Δισκαπόλλων³⁸. All these documents are lists and it is unclear

³⁴ See J. VERGOTE, *Les noms propres du P. Bruxelles inv. E7616. Essai d'interprétation* (*P.L.Bat.*, VII), Leiden 1954, p. 11, no. 42; for Sarapis and Apollon see W. HORN-BOSTEL, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (*EPRO*, 32), Leiden 1973, p. 304 n. 11.

³⁵ See Eustathius, *Comm ad Il.* I, p. 689 οὐκ ἀπέοικε δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲ ὁ Ὠραπόλλων, ἀνὴρ λόγιος, οὗ ἡ σύνθεσις ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρος καὶ Ἀπόλλων, ἃ καὶ ἄμφω ἐπίθετά εἰσι Φοῖβου.

³⁶ See e.g. H.-J. THISEN, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch* (*AfP, Beiheft* 6), Leipzig 2001, p. XIII.

³⁷ See generally O. MASSON, *À propos d'Horapollon, l'auteur des Hieroglyphica*, *REG* 105 (1992), p. 231-235. Cf. also *P. Oxy.* XI 1380, 211-214, an invocation of Isis, οὐ τὸν υἱόν σ[ο]υ Ὠρον Ἀπόλλωνα and 246-247 n. *ad loc.*

³⁸ In *P. Stras.* VII 618, 21 (AD 319), instead of Κῆ[ι].. δισκ() Ἀπόλλωνος, one should read Ἰσι[ι].. Δισκαπόλλωνος, where Diskapollon is the father's name. Paul Heilporn, who checked the original in Strasbourg, proposes to read Ἰσι[ι], probably Isidoros son of Diskapollon. This filiation is also found in *P. Berl. Bork.* xiii, 30 (AD 298-330). Although the Strasbourg papyrus doubtlessly comes from Hermoupolis (see *BL VIII*), this landowner may be the same person.

whether a person is from the Panopolite or the Hermopolite nome. The name Δίσκος or Δισκᾶς is, however, attested in Egypt from the third century BC to the third century AD³⁹, but mainly in the Hermopolite nome.

2. Κτισταπόλλων (Κτίστης + Ἀπόλλων): See *SB* I 780 (II-III AD), a mummy tablet. Apollo was regarded as the founder of Cyrene; cf. *LSJ* s.v. κτίστης. However, the personal name Κτίστης is well-attested in Greek papyri.

3. Σεσκαπόλλων (Σέσκος (?) + Ἀπόλλων): In *P. Fouad* 80, fr. A, 19 (Panos polis, IV AD), Σεσκαπόλλων is considered a phonological equivalent of Δισκαπόλλων; cf. also *P. Berl. Bork.* xiii, 30n. However, judging from *P. Petaus* 101, ii 33 Ποτάμων ἐπικαλ(ούμενος) ὁ τοῦ Σέσκος (the syntax ὁ τοῦ + the nominative is not surprising in these examples) and Baillet, *Syringes* 1340, 1-2 Τιμαγένης | σεσκ(), Σέσκος does seem to exist as a personal name itself.

4. Φιλαπόλλων (φιλέω (verb)⁴⁰ + Ἀπόλλων): The first attestation of the name is in *P. Coll. Youtie* II 71, 21 and its copy 72, 5 (Panopolite

³⁹ The name Δισκᾶς (genitive Δισκᾶτος or Δισκᾶ) is typical of the Hermopolite nome (see also *P. Flor.* III 332, 1 n. «il nome Δισκᾶς ci ora attestato in documenti del nomos Hermopolites»); cf. *P. Hamb.* I 60, 16 (AD 90); *P. Flor.* III 388, 1, 52, 111 (I-II AD); *P. Giss.* 20, 27; *P. Flor.* III 332, 4, 22; *P. Brem.* 60, 8; 61, 45 (the latter four papyri belong to the archive of the strategos Apollonios from the early II AD); *O. Sarap.* 79b, 12 (II AD); *P. Stras.* VI 557, 2, 26 (AD 291); *P. Lond.* V 1647 (= *ChLA* III 209), 3 (AD 298). In *P. Ryl.* II 102, 38, 39 (Hermopolite nome; the name Δι<ο>σκ(όρου) is restored, but Δισκ(ᾶτος) or Δισκ(ᾶ) is a more likely supplement. In *P. Rain. Cent.* 68 (= *CPR* II 5), 15 (AD 265-266; see *BL* VII, p. 44) the reading Δίσκ[ο]ν could be better be read as Δισκ[ᾶ]ν. J.G. MILNE, *Mus. Caire*, p. 22, no. 33028 (= *SB* I 678), 16 (c. AD 200), an inscription found in Karnak, mentions παλαιισταί presumably from different areas in Egypt. Consequently, Κοπρέας Δισκᾶ in l. 16 could be from the Hermopolite nome. Hermou polis was famous for its heavy athletes (e.g. *pankratiastai*); see G. MÉAUTIS, *op. cit.*, p. 199-203. On the contrary the name Δίσκος is mainly attested in Ptolemaic inscriptions or papyri; cf. *SB* I 882, 1382, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 3608, 3805; III 6106, 6403; *Guide to the Zenon archive (P.L.Bat., XX)*, p.320 (Philadelphieia, 258-249 BC); *P. Stras.* II 105, 2 (provenance unknown, 210 BC). In *P. Oxy. Hels.* 9, 9 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 26) the kleros of Diskos retained its name from the Ptolemaic period. There are only three examples of the name Δίσκος in the Roman period, all from Hermou polis; *SEG* XVIII 678, 4 (= *I. Herm.* 68; II-III AD); *SPP* V 98 (= *SPP* XX 66), 11; *SPP* V 124 v 7 (both AD 253-268).

The name Δίσκος is rare outside Egypt; there are only about 10 instances in *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB (see above n. 6).

⁴⁰ For the names beginning with Φιλο- see W. SWINNEN, *Philammon, chantre légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn*, in *Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum (Stud. Hell., 16)*, Leuven 1968, p. 237-262.

nome, AD 281). However, it is not certain that the person was from the same nome. Two other examples of this name are from Hermou polis, *SB* VI 9399, 13 (IV AD) and *P. Lips.* I 34, 10; 35, 13 (AD 375-378). In the latter the person with that name is referred to as from the Thebaid and it can be assumed from Hermou polis itself, as the papyrus was found in this city.

GROUP 3

1. Παπόλλων: See *T. Mom. Louvre* 170, 1 (Nesos Apollinariados, Panopolite nome, II-III AD); 1109, 1 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 493 A 1, B 1 (unknown provenance, III AD); *SB* XX 14368, 5, 7 (Alexandria, inscription dated AD 296); *SEG* XLI 1668, 5 (Apoll. Magna (?), AD 396); *O. Kellis* 130, 2 (Kellis, III-IV AD); *O. Douch* I 21, 10; II 76, 3; 159, 5; III 217, 1; 270, 5; 2792, 312, 7; IV 356, 2; 418 v 9; 486, 1; 450, 1; 480, 1; V 575, 2. 10; 605, 3 (Kysis, all dated IV-V AD) and *P. Cair. Masper.* III 67328, ii 7 (Aphrodito, VI AD); cf. also *DNB* 6, p. 251. The certain name is found in many places in Egypt, as it is the god's name itself, Ἀπόλλων, preceded by the prefix Πα- («he who belongs to a god»), very common in Egyptian names⁴¹ (cf. also the name Ταπολλῶς below).

2. Τατοαπόλλων: It is a feminine name, attested only in a mummy tablet, *SB* III 7125, 1 (no place of provenance — but probably Panopolites — nor date). The prefix Τατο- (= Τατε-) occurs also in the feminine name [Τ]ατοάνου[πις, in *SB* I 5435, 3, a mummy tablet from the Panopolite nome. Almost all names with the prefix Τατο-, Τατε-, Τατ- come from this nome and are dated to the II-III AD.

Three more Egyptian names, ending in -apollos (not in -apollon) also belong to this group:

Σεναπολλῶς: All attestations are on ostraca from Thebes, dated to the II AD: *O. Bodl.* II 878, 3 (AD 92-93); 2367, 6 (AD 150); *O. Wilck.* 938, 4 (AD 174); *O. Ashm.* 58, 4 (AD 176); *SB* I 1670, 2 (AD 189-190); *O. Stras.* 527, 4 (II AD); *O. Leid.* 280, 5 (II-III AD). In *O. Brux* 2, 3 (Thebaid, AD 67): Σεναπο(λλωνίας) could be also read as Σεναπο(λλῶτος). It is a feminine name, compound from the prefix Σεν- and the name

⁴¹ See J. VERGOTE, *op. cit.*(n. 34), p. 17 no. 105.

Ἀπολλῶς, meaning «the daughter of the god Apollo»⁴². For the corresponding masculine name Ψεναπόλλων or Ψεναπολλῶς see below. The names Σεναπολλῶς and Σεναπολλανία appear often in the census register *P. Oxy.* 984 (I AD)⁴³. On the basis of the *onomastica* it is assumed that the document was written in Lycopolis or Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. In that case we can draw the conclusion that these two feminine names appear exclusively in the Thebaid⁴⁴.

Τααπολλῶς, derived from the prefix Τα- and the personal name Ἀπολλῶς, meaning «she, who belongs to the god Apollo» (cf. also Τααπολλωνία in *P. Oxy.* VIII 1132, 5, dated in AD 162) is found in many places in Egypt: *P. Mich.* V 237, 53 (Tebtynis, AD 43); 321, 5, 8, 14 (Tebtynis, AD 42); *P. Brux.* 5, 17, 25 (Thelb. Siph., AD 174); *SB* XX 14310, 2, 17 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 188-189); *P. Ant.* II 88, 2, 3 (Antinoopolis, AD 221); *P. Oxy.* XII 1444, 9 (AD 248-249).

Ψεναπολλῶς means «the son of Apollo». It is found only in *P. Kel-lis* I 60, 1 (late III to early IV AD).

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⁴² Cf. also the name Σεναπολλωνία (cf. *SB* I 1187, 1; 1243, 2; 1253, 2 (Panopolite nome, unknown date); 5367, r, 2 (Bompae); 5367, v, 2 (Bompae?); 5435, 1 (Bompae?); 5497, 3 (Bompae); 5529, 1 (Panopolite nome?); 5532, 2; 7076, 2; 7092, r, 4 (Bompae); *SB* V 7735, r, 2 (Lycopolite nome) (all without date); *T. Mom. Louvre* 1, B, 1 (Bompae, III-IV AD); 28, A, 1 (Bompae, II-III AD); 41, A 3, B 3 and 41, B, 3 (Bompae, II-III AD); 42, A, 3 (Bompae, II-III AD); 74, 3 (Bompae, II-III AD); 78, B, 2 (Bompae, III AD); 145, A, 2 (Nesos /Panopolite nome, III-IV AD); 150, A, 3 (Nesos Apollinariados, III AD); 561, 3 (unknown provenance, I-II AD); 760, 3 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 871, A, 1 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 917, A, 3 (unknown provenance, III-IV AD); 1028, 3 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 1112, 1 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 1116, 2 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); 1198, A, 2 (unknown provenance, II-III AD); *P. Oxy.* LVII 3905, 6 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 99); *O. Ashm. Shelt.* 26, 5 (Thebaid, AD 162); *SB* XVIII 13741, 5 (Kynopolite nome, VI AD). Cf. also the name Σεναπολλώνιος in *O. Stras.* 578, 1 (Thebaid, I-II AD); 375, 3 (Thebaid, AD 160); *P. Batav.* 40, 1 (Panopolis, II-III AD); but cf. also *P. Oxy.* 984 (*Pap. Brux.* 29, 1997), p. 165 paragraph (b). For Σε- masculine names see J. QUAEGBEUR, *Senenouphis, nom de femme et nom d'homme*, *CE* 56 (1981), p. 350-359. For the meaning of the names Σεναπολλῶς and Σεναπολλωνία see *P. Oxy.* 984, p. 122, s.v.

⁴³ See the edition by R.S. BAGNALL e.a., *The Census Register P. Oxy. 984 (Pap. Brux., 29)*, Brussels 1997, with a discussion on the origin of the papyrus on p. 24-25, and on the names on p. 115-116.

⁴⁴ Only *P. Oxy.* LVII 3905, 6 (Oxyrhynchos, AD 99) and *SB* XVIII 13741, 5 (Kynopolite nome, VI AD) preserve the name.

PERSIAN KATOIKOI IN HELLENISTIC SMYRNA

Abstract: The ancient Greeks and Macedonians closely guarded their rights and obligations as citizens. Throughout most of their history they excluded non-Greeks or ‘barbarians’ from participating in Hellenic civic organizations. After the campaigns of Alexander, as Greco-Macedonian culture spread eastwards, we begin to see exceptions made to Hellenic civic segregation and some non-Hellenic people were conferred with civic rights in exchange for military service. During the Third Syrian War (246-241 BC), the city of Smyrna, a loyal ally of Seleucus II, arranged a treaty with its neighbor Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus. One of the conditions of the treaty was the promise of equal rights and obligations to the Greek and Persian soldiers in Magnesia as citizens of Smyrna. Beginning with the text of the inscription *I. Smyrna 573* the author confirms that the Persians of the garrison in Magnesia were conferred with the same civic rights and obligations as their Hellenic counterparts. The author then proceeds to investigate the primary and secondary literature and sources to determine that the Seleucids encountered a shortage of soldiers beginning in the 3rd century and that Persians and other non-Greeks were occasionally given civic rights to meet these recruitment needs. The author’s evidence strongly suggests that Alexander and the Seleucids adopted the Achaemenid precedent of using ‘foreign’ troops to supplement their military colonies in Asia Minor. The conferment of equal civic rights and obligations to Persian κάτοικοι or military colonists insured their loyalty to Seleucus II and helped him maintain his military requirements.

During the Third Syrian War, the city of Smyrna, a loyal ally of Seleucus II, arranged a treaty with its neighbor Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus. One of the conditions of the treaty was the promise of equal rights and obligations to the free and Greek (ἐλεύθεροί τε Ἑλληνες) inhabitants of Magnesia as citizens of Smyrna. These rights were also extended to the garrison and soldiers in the area of Magnesia, including a unit of Persian cavalry under the command of Omanes. The inclusion of Persian cavalry into the Macedonian military establishment was initiated by Alexander III as early as 324 and would continue through the 3rd century¹.

Alexander’s first campaign against the Persians in 334 initiated a period of Macedonian dominance in Asia Minor that lasted until the Roman

¹ A.B. BOSWORTH, *Alexander and the Iranians*, *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 13.

conquest of the region in 168². After his initial victory over the Persians at the Granicus River, Alexander commenced his march through the satrapies of the empire and assimilated them into the sphere of Macedonian control. The prominent Hellenic city-states of Ionia also accepted Macedonian authority. These included Ephesus, Miletus, and Smyrna to name a few³.

Alexander and the Seleucids (Alexander's successors in the area) discerned that Asia Minor was of the utmost strategic importance to any ruler who wished to establish a political state based upon the Persian Empire. Besides serving as a bridgehead for Greco-Macedonian movement into Asia it was also the home of a large Hellenic population which had been established along the coastal regions of Asia Minor for centuries. The ruler that controlled these areas had access to the resources and manpower of a well-established economy⁴. Since Alexander and the Seleucids also promoted a Hellenic cultural hegemony over the native populations of Asia Minor, many Greek city-states openly supported them⁵.

The strategic significance of western Asia Minor during the late 4th and throughout the 3rd century is reflected by the number of battles that occurred in the region⁶. These battles often involved high stakes and large armies as seen in the battle of Ipsus in 301 in which over 100,000 combatants were involved⁷. From the beginning of the First Syrian War in

² All dates referred to are BC.

³ This article is based upon one of the chapters in my doctoral dissertation, Kyle R. FINGERSON, *Smyrna 573: A Study in Hellenistic Civic Organization during the Third Syrian War (246-241 BC)*, Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998, p. 60-87.

⁴ J. MA, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, London 1999, p. 3-9. Ma discusses the richness of the area in agricultural and mineral resources as well as its significance as a center of kingly honor, military power, and economic revenue.

⁵ R.A. BILLOWS, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism*, Leiden 1995, p. 146.

⁶ Before the Third Syrian War, major battles occurred in Anatolia near the Hellespont in 321, in Pisidia in 320, near Paraitakene in 317, near Gabiene in 316, Ipsus in 301, Corupedium in 281, and Antiochus I's Elephant Battle in 273.

⁷ The primary sources often indicate that these engagements in Asia Minor involved very large armies. Ipsos in 301 is the best documented in this regard. Plutarch, *Demetrius* 28-29, indicates that Antigonus and Demetrius had 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 75 elephants. Their opponents Seleucus and Lysimachus had an army of 64,000 infantry, 10,500 cavalry, 400 elephants, and 120 scythe chariots. See also R.A. BILLOWS, *Antigonus the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley 1990, p. 182. On the basis of Diodorus XX 113.4, Billows concluded that Antigonus and Demetrius had an army of 80,000 men at Ipsos while Seleucus and Lysimachus had a combined army of 79,000 men.

274/3 through the conclusion of the Fourth Syrian War in 217, over a dozen battles occurred in western Asia Minor⁸. As a result, the region was an arena of incessant warfare through the 1st century BC⁹.

Alexander and the Seleucids established military colonists (κάτοικοι) near strategic sites along the coastal regions of Asia Minor to ensure the loyalty of the Ionian cities¹⁰. These settlers provided military service to the Seleucids in exchange for land grants and civic rights¹¹. Though the Seleucids preferred Greco-Macedonian soldiers, they were often compelled to enlist non-Greek soldiers to meet their recruitment goals as early as 326¹².

It is the common consensus among scholars that «... the basis of the Seleucid settlement of Asia was the military colony»¹³. As a result of the volatile political maneuvering in the decades following the death of Alexander in 323, the establishment of κάτοικοι became a political necessity among the Macedonian successors who aspired to rule Asia Minor¹⁴. Those Macedonians who wished to rule in Asia Minor, including the Seleucid dynasts, were compelled to establish a faithful following of soldiers to secure their conquests¹⁵.

Though economic and political incentives did play a role, the establishment of κάτοικοι in Asia Minor primarily fulfilled the military purposes of the Seleucids. The settlement of κάτοικοι provided them with

⁸ The First Syrian War lasted from 274/3-271, the Second Syrian War 261-253, the Third Syrian War 246-241, and the Fourth Syrian War from 219-217.

⁹ P. GREEN, *Alexander to Actium*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1990, p. 653.

¹⁰ According to Billows Alexander first established military colonies in Asia Minor and the Seleucids continued the practice (*op. cit.* [n. 5], p. 146). For the establishment of Seleucid colonies in Asia Minor, see G.M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1995; *Katoikiai, Katoikoi and Macedonians in Asia Minor*, *AncSoc* 22 (1991), p. 41-50; *The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization*, *Historia* 30 (1978), p. 1-95; and J.D. GRAINGER, *Cities of Seleucid Syria*, Oxford 1990, p. 137-169.

¹¹ K.R. FINGERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 5. *Katoikoi* fulfilled various military, economic, political, and administrative functions in support of the Seleucid dynasty in Asia Minor. See also G. COHEN, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism*, Leiden 1995, p. 172-178, on the function of *katoikoi*. Ma concluded that Seleucid establishment of military colonies left a lasting impression on the landscape of Asia Minor (*op. cit.* [n. 4], p. 35).

¹² A.B. BOSWORTH, *The Legacy of Alexander: Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors*, Oxford 2002, p. 3ff.

¹³ G.M. COHEN, *AncSoc* 22 (1991), p. 41. For a more complete examination of this thesis, refer to n. 1 in the same article.

¹⁴ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 146-147.

¹⁵ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 172ff.

a source of recruits and a loyal presence in strategic sites within their territory¹⁶. In short, the κάτοικοι provided a loyal source of troops that served in the campaigns against prospective rivals and garrisoned strategic locations of the Seleucid Empire¹⁷.

The establishment of the garrison near Magnesia, mentioned in *I. Smyrna* 573, is an example of the military role of the Seleucid κάτοικοι in Asia Minor. First of all, the terminology associated with the term κάτοικοι throughout the inscription reveals the military duties which the settlers fulfilled. In 10 out of the 13 citations that refer to κάτοικοι a fairly stock phrase is associated with the term, «... the katoikoi in Magnesia, consisting of the cavalry and infantry from the city and those having been mustered in the camp»¹⁸. The use of such terminology in conjunction with κάτοικοι specifies who these settlers were (within a military framework) and clarifies the military role that they served within the Seleucid realm. It also further supports the assertion that these were indeed military settlements.

In addition to the terminology defining the nature of the Seleucid κάτοικοι, there are also explicit references to the role of κάτοικοι in this inscription. According to line 95 of the inscription it was necessary for «... the city to also take the high place in the Magnesia district and to establish a garrison in it... in order that... everything in the neighborhood might remain safer for King Seleucus»¹⁹. This passage implies that the κάτοικοι served in the capacity of local garrisons. This function of the κάτοικοι is further demonstrated in a later passage in the inscription where it was recorded that the newly established κάτοικοι who served under Timon and Omanes were to serve «as guardians of the region»²⁰.

These military settlers, having been granted land by the Seleucids, were more than eager to guard the passageway through the Hermos River valley, which led to Sardis and the heart of Seleucid Asia Minor. Land tenure under the patronage of their Seleucid overlords was a powerful incentive for soldiers to support the dynasty that granted the estates.

¹⁶ G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 25 and 63ff. Also see E. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1939, p. 85, who asserted that the purpose of these colonies was to pacify certain regions in Asia Minor.

¹⁷ G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 33, submitted the proposal that «... the Seleucid colonies were frequently composed of retired or reserve soldiers».

¹⁸ Variations of this phrase associated with *katoikoi* appear in lines, 14, 21, 35, 36, 43, 49, 59, 71, 74, and 92.

¹⁹ *I. Smyrna* 573.94-5.

²⁰ *I. Smyrna* 573.104ff.

The establishment of military settlers in Asia Minor rested primarily upon the richness of the land in the region and the overpopulation and social upheaval in Greece²¹. As a result, the Seleucid monarchs relied chiefly upon the allotment of land (κλήροι) to beguile soldiers to enter their service. In return for military service to their Seleucid overlords, each military colonist «... received in effect a substantial farm or small estate which formed the major source of his future livelihood and that of his family...»²².

These κλήροι did not consist of a single homogeneous plot of land but consisted of a variety of different plots, which had distinct functions²³. A 3rd-century letter by Antiochus III to Zeuxis, his governor in Asia Minor in 210/209, describes the components of a κλήρος²⁴. Antiochus ordered Zeuxis to transfer 2,000 Babylonian Jews to Asia Minor to serve as military settlers and to «... give each of them a place to build a house and land to cultivate and land to plant with vines...»²⁵. Each settler was apparently provided with a plot to build a house upon, a plot for grain, and one for a vineyard²⁶.

The award of κλήροι to those soldiers who were willing to support the Seleucids is also evident in *I. Smyrna 573* where the κάτοικοι who held Magnesia would continue to hold the two lots (κλήροι) that had been conceded to them earlier and they would continue to be tax exempt²⁷. In addition, Smyrna promised the Magnesians κάτοικοι an additional lot (κλήρος) if they accepted the treaty with Smyrna and they promised a cavalryman's lot (κλήρον ἵππικόν) to those who did not hold land²⁸.

²¹ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 147. See n. 4, 5, and 6 for the sources that address the issues of overpopulation and social unrest in Greece in opposition to the wealth and riches to be had in Asia Minor.

²² R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 160.

²³ *Ibid.* See also G.M. COHEN, *Historia* 30 (1978), p. 45ff.

²⁴ Josephus, *AJ* XII 147ff. Also see G.M. COHEN, *Historia* 30 (1978), p. 5-9, for a discussion on this document.

²⁵ Josephus, *AJ* XII 151ff. For a detailed evaluation of this document see A. SCHALIT, *The Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis regarding the Establishment of Jewish Military Colonies in Phrygia and Lydia*, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 50 (1960), p. 239-318.

²⁶ In addition to land, the document offered other incentives to the new settlers such as tax exemptions for ten years and grain rations until the first crop was harvested. *Ibid.* There are a number of other primary sources that refer to the composition of land allotments (κλήροι) under the Seleucids. For a complete discussion and bibliography see R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 160ff., and G.M. COHEN, *Historia* 30 (1978), p. 47-50.

²⁷ *I. Smyrna 573*.100ff. G.M. COHEN, *Hellenistic Settlements* (n. 10), p. 225-226. C.J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna: A History of the City from the Earliest Times to 324 A.D.*, Oxford 1938, p. 126.

²⁸ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 163ff. Billows and others contend that a *kleros hipikos* or cavalry allotment was larger than a normal *kleros*.

The remainder of the inscription enumerates the benefits extended to the soldiers who were not Magnesians *κᾰτοικοί* and had not received a land grant. To «Timon and the infantry that had been drawn up under Timon» citizenship and tax exemption were offered if they would remain as guardians of the region²⁹. Omanes, the Persians under his command, Menekles, and the soldiers serving him all received the normal pay and rations that all other soldiers in Magnesia received³⁰. Further evidence that the term refers to the military nature of the settlers is provided by the terminology of the inscription, which refers to the *κᾰτοικοί* of «the cavalry and infantry in the polis, and those in the field» throughout the inscription³¹. While the soldiers in Magnesia and Palaemagnesia received distinct privileges depending upon their status, those that could claim that they were free and Hellenic received one benefit that bound them together and made them equals; they were all made citizens of Smyrna³².

Billows estimates that approximately 25,000 Macedonians were settled in Asia Minor during the reign of Alexander and the decade following his death in 323³³. When Cassander became king of Macedonia in 315 he effectively ended the immigration of Macedonian soldiers to Asia Minor³⁴. As a result, the Seleucids, who only gained control of Asia Minor after the defeat of Lysimachus at the Battle of Corupedium in 281, did not have access to large numbers of Greco-Macedonian soldiers³⁵. For the remainder of the 3rd century, they had to recruit many non Greco-Macedonian troops who were trained and armed in the Macedonian fashion³⁶. Many of these recruits were of Iranian or Persian decent.

The precedent for the integration of Iranians in the Macedonian military establishment began during Alexander's reign in 324³⁷. In 323 the

²⁹ *I. Smyrna* 573.103-104.

³⁰ *I. Smyrna* 573.105ff.

³¹ *I. Smyrna* 573.35, 36, 44, 46, 49-50, 59, 71-72, 73-74. R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 174.

³² The granting of citizenship to newly acquired 'allies' is a major theme throughout this inscription and is a common political stratagem of the Hellenistic age.

³³ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 153.

³⁴ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 157.

³⁵ J. MA, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 33.

³⁶ A.B. BOSWORTH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 79-80. The Seleucids were not the only Hellenistic dynasts to train and arm non-Macedonian troops in the Macedonian fashion. Alexander initiated the practice, and his successors continued it in order to meet their manpower requirements.

³⁷ Diodorus XX 110.1 ff. and Justin XII 2.4 both refer to the introduction of 1,000 Persians into the court guard of hypaspists after the mutiny of 324.

Macedonian general Peucestas met Alexander in Babylonia with a force of 20,000 Persians who were incorporated into Macedonian units³⁸. After the acquisition of Asia Minor in 281, Persians would become an important military resource for the Seleucid monarchs throughout the 3rd century. The inclusion of Iranians in the Seleucid military establishment is well documented in a treaty that Seleucus II formulated in 243 during the Third Syrian War³⁹.

The Third Syrian or 'Laodicean' War (246-241) resulted from the untimely death of Antiochus II in August of 246⁴⁰. His first wife Laodice claimed that Antiochus had declared their son Seleucus heir to the throne before he had died. Antiochus' second wife, Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy II, supported the claim of her own son⁴¹.

Most Ionian cities of Asia Minor, including Smyrna, Miletus, Ephesus, and Pergamon, supported Seleucus. Seleucus' claim was further enhanced by the fact that Laodice's brother Alexander had control of the military resources of the Lydian satrapy and Seleucus himself was nineteen years old while Berenice's son was an infant⁴². Berenice's son had the support of her brother Ptolemy III of Egypt and a lesser number of Ionian cities, among them Smyrna's neighbor Magnesia-on-Sipylus⁴³. However, Berenice's primary political support was based upon her residence in Antioch and the neighboring Syrian cities, which believed that her son was the rightful heir to the throne⁴⁴.

³⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis* VII 23.1-24.1. A.B. BOSWORTH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 9. Alexander assimilated 1,000 Persians into the hypaspists in 324.

³⁹ *I. Smyrna 573* (catalogued as *Chandler 2.26* in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford). Earlier editions of the inscription are *CIG* 3137, *OGIS* 229, and *ImagSip* 1. For the date of the war and the inscription see Sue ELWYN, *The Recognition Decrees for the Delphian Soteria and the Date of Smyrna's Inviolability*, *JHS* 110 (1990), p. 177-180.

⁴⁰ The circumstances surrounding the death of Antiochus II are suspect. According to some he died from an illness, others say that he was poisoned. The sources do agree that he died in Ephesus, the residence of his first wife, Laodice. See G.C. APERGHIS, *The Seleucid Royal Economy*, Cambridge 2004, p. 22; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 150; and H. HEINEN, *The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms of Asia Minor*, in *CAH²* VII (1984), p. 420-421. Also see E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, I, Nancy 1979², p. 248-250.

⁴¹ Esther V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca (NY) 1947, p. 34; H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 420; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 150.

⁴² H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 420.

⁴³ C.J. CADOUX, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 113-114; E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 34. Magnesia is approximately 25 km northeast of Smyrna near the confluence of the Sipylus and Hermos Rivers.

⁴⁴ Berenice's supporters may be responsible for circulating the story that Laodice poisoned Antiochus II. H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 420 ff. and E. WILL, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 249-250.

In the spring of 246, Ptolemy III advanced into Syria to assist his nephew's claim to the Seleucid throne. While marching through Syria, Ptolemy received the news that Laodice or Seleucus had assassinated his sister Berenice and her son⁴⁵. Despite this setback, Ptolemy maintained the pretense that he was supporting his nephew's claim to the throne and advanced up the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. After establishing his authority over Seleuceia-on-Tigris, Ptolemy appointed generals to command the eastern satrapies in Berenice's name and he returned to Egypt early in 245⁴⁶. As a result many of the Greek cities of Asia Minor rallied to support Seleucus in the war against Ptolemy because his father, Antiochus II, had granted them freedom and political autonomy. Smyrna also supported Seleucus, whereas Magnesia-on-Sipylus supported Ptolemy III⁴⁷. In 244 Seleucus conducted a series of campaigns outside of Asia Minor in order to quell a series of revolts in his eastern provinces. During his absence he left his brother Antiochus Hierax (the Hawk) as co-regent along with Laodice's brother Alexander in Asia Minor to direct the campaigns against Ptolemy III⁴⁸.

His departure from Asia Minor inaugurated a period of great distress for his cities in western Asia Minor⁴⁹. Ptolemy's fleet cruised along the Ionian shore and captured many of the Asiatic cities while others, such as Smyrna, maintained their loyalty to Seleucus at great expense⁵⁰. The speed of Ptolemy's conquests along the shores of Asia Minor suggests that Antiochus Hierax may have assisted Ptolemy's campaign in an attempt to establish an independent kingdom in Seleucid Asia Minor. Ptolemy himself may have instigated Antiochus' bid for an independent kingdom, providing the incentive for the subsequent war between the two brothers⁵¹. Nevertheless, Seleucus did win some significant victories in Asia Minor and Syria. By 243 he adopted the epithet *Καλλινίκος* (the gloriously triumphant).

⁴⁵ P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 150.

⁴⁶ Ptolemy III either returned to Egypt because of a revolt or because word had gotten out about Berenice's death: H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 420, and G. HÖLBL, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (trans. Tina Saavedra), London–New York 2001, p. 48–49.

⁴⁷ K.R. FINGERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 18–22.

⁴⁸ E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 34; C.J. CADOUX, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 114; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 150.

⁴⁹ C.J. CADOUX, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ C.J. CADOUX, *op. cit.*, p. 114. See n. 2 in reference to an alleged Chian assault upon Smyrna in the spring of 244; also see *I. Smyrna* 573.1–5; On p. 115 n. 2 Cadoux refers to an assault upon Smyrna from Magnesia-on-Sipylus.

⁵¹ H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 429–430. This subsequent conflict from 239 to 236 is known as the 'War of the Brothers'.

Before he left western Asia Minor in the summer of 242 BC, Seleucus also conferred the authority to the leaders of Smyrna to arrange a treaty with Magnesia-on-Sipylus. This was his reward to Smyrna for its loyalty to his cause⁵². In 241 Seleucus II concluded a peace with Ptolemy III, who returned to Egypt⁵³.

Seleucus compensated Smyrna because it had remained loyal to him during the Third Syrian War. At the same time he wished to gain the loyalty of the citizens and garrison of Magnesia-on-Sipylus and its citizens and garrison which had previously supported Ptolemy and Berenice during his absence from Asia Minor. The result was the treaty *I. Smyrna 573*.

The details of the treaty may be divided into three different themes. In the first section (lines 1-33) Seleucus promised that the citizens of Smyrna will forever enjoy civic autonomy and freedom and that the city will be recognized as holy and inviolate by other Seleucid cities. It also indicates that the military leaders of Smyrna (στρατηγοί) sent Dionysius as ambassador to the settlers (κάτοικοι) and to the cavalry and soldiers in the camp near Magnesia promising them friendship and an alliance if they would support Seleucus. The Magnesians were apparently eager to enter into an alliance with Smyrna and Seleucus because they sent an ambassador (Apollonicetes) to represent the soldiers in the camp and two ambassadors (Potamon and Hierocles) to represent the military settlers (κάτοικοι). At that point, the Smyrneans and the Magnesian ambassadors or representatives concluded a treaty and established the date that the oaths would be taken to conclude the terms of the treaty.

The second part of the treaty (lines 34-88) established the terms of the alliance between the people of Smyrna and the civilian population of Magnesia as well as the military settlers (κάτοικοι) and the cavalry and infantry in the area as long as the latter supported Seleucus. The treaty also resulted in a *sympolitea* which guaranteed the Magnesians equal civic rights and obligations in Smyrna. All free and Greek citizens (ἐλεύθεροί τε Ἕλληνες) and soldiers (κάτοικοι) had to swear an oath in order to obtain Smyranean citizenship. The remainder of this section details how the new citizens of Smyrna were registered and the oath that they would be required to recite. It also includes the oath that the Smyrneans would recite regarding the acceptance of the Magnesians into their civic organization.

⁵² C.J. CADOUX, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 116. See K.R. FINGERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 23-37 and *I. Smyrna 573* for the details of this treaty.

⁵³ P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 150 and H. HEINEN, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 420.

The third and final section of the treaty (lines 89-108) focuses upon the soldiers who were established near Magnesia and were not specifically addressed in the earlier sections. In order to insure the loyalty of the citizens of Magnesia, the Smyrneans secured the allegiance of the military settlers and the cavalry and infantry in the camp (τήν τε πρὸς ἑμὲ Μαγνησίαι κατοίκους καὶ τοὺς ὑπαίθρους ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς πέζους στρατιώτας) in addition to the citizens of Magnesia⁵⁴.

As a result, a *sympolitea* is created, i.e. a merging of the citizens of Magnesia-on-Sipylus who were free and Greek (ἐλεύθεροί τε Ἕλληνες) and Smyrna, granting equal citizenship and political rights to the citizens and garrisons of the two cities⁵⁵. In the final lines of the treaty, citizenship, land, and equal rights and privileges were also granted to Omanes and the Persians under Omanes (Ὀμάνην καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις ὑπὸ Ὀμάνην)⁵⁶.

The grant of citizenship to a non-Greek, Omanes, and the Persians under his command is contrary to the terms of citizenship in the earlier sections of the treaty which required a free and Greek heritage. Seleucus needed military security in the region of Smyrna and Magnesia and one way to achieve this was to grant citizenship to non-Hellenic soldiers in order to gain their loyalty⁵⁷. The inclusion of Persians in the civic reorganization of the two cities also strongly suggests that Greco-Macedonian soldiers were difficult to find in Asia Minor when the treaty was recorded.

⁵⁴ *I. Smyrna* 573.92-93.

⁵⁵ *I. Smyrna* 573.75. Citizenship was granted to those who were free and Greek but excluded non-Greeks and slaves.

⁵⁶ *I. Smyrna* 573.105 ff. The presence of Persian colonists in western Asia Minor can be traced to the Persian conquest of the region. During the 3rd century, the Seleucids were forced to recruit non-Greeks and Macedonians to supplement the dwindling supply of Greek and Macedonian manpower. Th. IHNKEN, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylus*, Bonn 1978, p. 104, 121.

⁵⁷ In his *Geography* XI 8.4, Strabo referred to an Ὀμάνου (genitive form of Omanos), a Persian god that was worshiped at a sanctuary in Anatolia. Omanos is apparently the Iranian form and Omanes the Greek form of the same name. «The final part of the name, “-manos”, corresponds with Iranian “manah-” seems to be evident, although Iranian “manah-” in similar compounds is most frequently rendered “-men_s” in Greek»: A.F. DE JONG, *Traditions of the Maji: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*, Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1996, p. 104. For the most current etymological examination of the name see F. GRENET, *L'onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum*, *BCH* 107 (1983), p. 376.

The evidence does not allow us to determine the identity of Omanes beyond the fact that he was a Persian commander of Persian troops⁵⁸. It is important, however, that his troops were given equal and identical rights and obligations as the Hellenic κάτοικοι⁵⁹. As Seleucid Asia Minor had been seized from the Achaemenid royal house, it is not really surprising that there were still soldiers bearing Persian names in Asia Minor. Some Persians may even have hoped that Persian rule in Asia Minor would be restored in place of the Seleucid administration. The prospect of a Persian revival in Asia Minor provided a powerful incentive for Persians to retain their native names. Such a trend is evident in the kingdoms of Pontus and Commagene.

The independent kingdom of Pontus materialized along the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea in the aftermath of the pivotal battle of Ipsus in 301⁶⁰. The new founder of this dynasty was Mithridates of Cius, the son of Ariobarzanes, Darius III's satrap of Phrygia. Throughout the period of Pontic independence (until its annexation by Rome in 66), the members of the Pontic royal house maintained Persian names. The last monarch of this line, Mithridates Eupator, traced his ancestry on the paternal side through Cyrus and Darius I, two of the most successful Persian monarchs⁶¹. The Pontic monarchs boasted of their Persian descent throughout the regime and used it as a rallying point against the Seleucids.

The satrapy of Commagene in northern Syria also showed ambitions for the restoration of a Persian dynasty⁶². Commagene, which was incorporated into the Seleucid empire during the reign of Antiochus III (223-187), became independent in 162 when its governor Ptolemeus revolted

⁵⁸ de Jong concluded that «The name therefore, although it sounds Iranian, remains a mystery» (p. 104).

⁵⁹ P. BRIANT, *Rois, Tributs et Paysans: études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien* (*Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, 269), Paris 1982, p. 196. Briant saw this as evidence that the establishment of military colonies in Asia Minor was an Achaemenid precedent adopted by Alexander and his successors.

⁶⁰ D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, p. 189. The wars between the major Macedonian successors permitted the formation of an independent Persian dynasty.

⁶¹ Ch. EDSON, *Imperium Macedonicum: The Seleucid Empire and the Literary Evidence*, *CPh* 53 (1958), p. 153-168 (154). As Mithridates Eupator traced his ancestry on the maternal side through Alexander the Great and Seleucus Nicator, he hedged his bets to both parties.

⁶² Ch. EDSON, *art. cit.* (n. 61), p. 160. Another satrapy, Cappadocia, gained its independence from Seleucid rule in the mid-3rd century when an Iranian noble, Ariarathes, expelled the 'Macedonian' army: E. BEVAN, *The House of Ptolemy*, p. 257-258.

against Seleucid rule⁶³. This dynasty traced its ancestry from the Persian royal house of Hydarnes, one of the «seven conspirators» who were headed by the later king Darius I⁶⁴. During the conspiracy which resulted in Darius' ascent to the throne, the seven royal conspirators made a binding pact that, «You who shall be king hereafter, protect the families of these men»⁶⁵. Darius and his heirs observed the terms of this pact and Hydarnes and his ancestors served as loyal generals and satraps through the reign of the last Persian monarch, Darius III. With the exception of Ptolemaeus, who served as a Seleucid governor in Commagene, the members of this distinguished Persian household bore Persian names up to 162⁶⁶. After this date and the establishment of an independent dynasty, the royal family adopted Hellenic names as they intermarried with the Seleucid dynasty.

During the 3rd century, Seleucid Asia Minor was considered an 'Imperium Macedonicum' because Macedonians were the dominant ruling class, in a similar manner to the Persian dominion of the previous century and the Roman equivalent of the subsequent centuries⁶⁷. Macedonians filled most of the administrative and military posts of the Seleucid realm and provided the administration with a loyal body of soldiers.

Cohen and Billows believe that most Seleucid κάτοικοι were Greco-Macedonians. The numbers of Greco-Macedonians who settled in Asia Minor, combined with the numerous Greco-Macedonian names in Asia Minor, strongly suggests that the κάτοικοι (with the exception of Omanes) mentioned in *I. Smyrna* 573 and other documents were of at least partial Hellenic ancestry⁶⁸. This is confirmed by the references to the

⁶³ S. HORNBLOWER & A. SPAWFORTH (eds.), in *OCD*² (1996), p. 373.

⁶⁴ The list of the 'seven royal conspirators' is included in Herodotus III 70. The tale of how Darius I was chosen as the king of the Persian Empire follows in subsequent passages. See P. BRIANT, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (trans. P.L. Daniels), Winona Lake (IL) 2002, p. 107-108, for a list of the Persian equivalent of the Greek names of these Persian royal households. In addition, the dynasty was also related by marriage to the Persian monarch, Artaxerxes, whose daughter married Orontes II: Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement IV, col. 981.

⁶⁵ A.T. OLMSTEAD, *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago 1948, p. 108.

⁶⁶ For a complete family tree of the house of Hydarnes, see Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement IV, col. 981-985. The names of Ptolemaeus' ancestors were common royal Persian names and included Mithridates, Orontes, and Hydarnes. See A.T. OLMSTEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 238, 399, and 515-516 for a brief discussion of these personages.

⁶⁷ Ch. EDSON, *art. cit.* (n. 61).

⁶⁸ R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 153, estimated that under Alexander and his immediate successors 35,000-37,000 Macedonians soldiers went to Asia and never returned. Based upon estimates of the number of casualties that these suffered in the wars of Alexander and

κάτοικοι who were offered citizenship in *I. Smyrna 573* as «free and Hellenic».

The inclusion of Omanes and the Persians under his command in this treaty also suggests that the availability of Macedonian manpower in Seleucid Asia Minor was beginning to wane by the middle of the 3rd century. However, the inclusion of the term Persians (Πέρσαι) in the inscription poses some additional difficulties. Scholars working on the intricacies of the term in Ptolemaic Egypt have pointed out some important issues that may also apply to contemporary Seleucid Asia Minor.

In Ptolemaic inscriptions Persians appear as κάτοικοι in the service of the Ptolemies⁶⁹. The term also usually appears in these documents as Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς referring to «the descendants of Persian military settlers» or Persians who served the Ptolemies⁷⁰.

During the early 3rd century, ethnic labels or names such as Macedonian, Persian, Cretan, and Thracian denoted the ethnicity of those indicated. However, by the mid-3rd century and the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia, ethnic tags no longer guaranteed the ethnic origin of the individuals referred to⁷¹. By that time, the term ‘Persian’ was often used to denote a type of troop, in this case cavalry, in much the same manner as Macedonian came to refer to infantrymen in the phalanx. This practice is best observed in the case of a Macedonian who served the Ptolemies first in the phalanx, then later as a Cretan or archer, followed by service as a Persian or cavalryman, and finally as a Mysian or light infantryman⁷².

The Ptolemaic practice of organizing troops into racial types or pseudonyms such as Macedonian, Mysian, Galatian, Persian, Thessalian, and Thracian, makes it tempting to identify Omanes’ Persians as Greco-Mace-

the succession, approximately 30,000 Macedonian soldiers settled in Asia Minor and Egypt. Estimating that 5,000 settled in Egypt, the remaining 25,000 Macedonians settled in Asia Minor. See also A.B. BOSWORTH, *Alexander the Great and the Decline of Macedon*, *JHS* 106 (1986), p. 1-12 and N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Casualties and Reinforcements of Citizen Soldiers in Greece and Macedonia*, *JHS* 109 (1989), p. 00-00.

⁶⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, vol. XIX 1, col. 910-926.

⁷⁰ The interpretation of the term is difficult. In demotic it is often translated as «Persians born in Egypt». This is usually interpreted as a reference to the Persians who were born after Alexander’s reign and remained in Ptolemaic service: W. CLARYSSE & Dorothy J. THOMPSON, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Vol. 2, Cambridge 2006, p. 157-159.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158-159. The identity of Persians in Ptolemaic service is further complicated by their use of Egyptian and Greek names.

⁷² G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935, p. 241 n. 6.

donians serving as cavalrymen⁷³. The evidence suggests otherwise. First, we have Alexander's precedent of enlisting Persian cavalry as early as 324. Second, Omanes is clearly a Persian name, and since Persians had a reputation as horsemen during antiquity, it is very possible that there were at least some ethnic Persians serving under his command. Finally, we have literary evidence in *I. Smyrna* 573 which grants citizenship to the citizens of Magnesia who are free and Greek and to Omanes and the Persians under his command.

CONCLUSIONS

The Achaemenids established the precedent of using 'foreign' troops to garrison military colonies in Asia Minor. Alexander and his successors adopted this strategy to meet their manpower needs in a rapidly growing Macedonian sphere of influence. As a result Persians and other ethnic groups are incorporated into the Macedonian military establishment of the successor states, including the Seleucids. The establishment of military colonies was an effective means of achieving the support of these κάτοικοι.

Omanes and the Persians under his command at Smyrna reflect an earlier Achaemenid practice that was adopted by Alexander and his successors and suggests that the Greco-Macedonian sources of manpower had been exhausted by the middle of the 3rd century.

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⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 155, 150. Griffith also believed that the Persians under Omanes were Persian cavalry. This notion was also supported by E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 109ff.

PROTECTING SAGALASSOS' FORTRESS OF THE AKRA
TWO LARGE FRAGMENTS OF AN EARLY HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTION
(with an appendix by Marc Waelkens)

Abstract: The early Hellenistic inscription found at the Pisidian city of Sagalassos, records 'agreements and accords' that aimed to prevent rebellions and other crimes and protect the city, especially the fortified *akra* ('highest part') and any other mountain top that was part of the defence system (e.g., the Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe, 1784m, and the Cinçinkirik Tepe, 1900m). The *akra* of Sagalassos is to be identified with the fortress of the Tekne Tepe (1885m) which overlooks the city and is located directly above the upper agora, where the inscription was undoubtedly erected before it was re-used in a Byzantine building. A contemporary inscription from Teos (Ionia) produces relevant reference material, but the measures taken by the city of Sagalassos are more stringent.

I. INTRODUCTION

During the campaign of 1996 the lower part of an early Hellenistic inscription was found at Sagalassos and was published in the fifth Sagalassos volume (= Vandorpe 2000 = *SEG* 2000, 1304 = see below, Fragment B). Five years later, in 2001, the upper part was discovered (= Fragment A). It is not clear how much has been lost between the two fragments. In this article the two fragments are published together.

Fragment B, the lower part of the stele, was discovered during the 1996 campaign inside a street coming from the east and entering the upper agora at its northeast corner. Although this street is bordered on the north by one of the oldest buildings of Sagalassos, the so-called 'Market Building' (early 3rd century BC), this does not seem to have been the construction in which the inscription had been reused. In fact, the recycling must have occurred in a 6th-century AD reconstruction of the so-called 'Northeast Building' on the opposite side of the street, of which the north façade is full of reused inscriptions from the upper agora, most of them honorific inscriptions and statue bases of the Imperial period (Waelkens *e.a.* 2000). This fragment has a dowel hole in the centre of its front (Vandorpe 2000, p. 489).



Fig. 1 – Early Hellenistic inscription from Sagalassos, upper part (Fragment A).

Fragment A, the upper part of the stele, was discovered during the 2001 campaign in the same street, be it a bit to the north of the previous location. The new fragment had probably been reused in the same early Byzantine building as the previous fragment.

II. GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION AND DESCRIPTION

Inventory number: Fragment A = SA 2001 NEG (North East Gate)/ 65; Fragment B = SA 96 UA (Upper Agora)/ 222.

Publication: Fragment A: ined.; Fragment B = Vandorpe 2000 = *SEG* 2000.1304

Dimensions and description: 0.594m. (w.) x 0.232m. (th.) x Fr.A = 0.417m./ Fr.B = 0.962m. (h.); the beginning of lines 8-9 of Fragment A is damaged; both upper corners of Fragment B were broken off and have been reattached. Some letters are damaged along the crack in the left corner and the end of lines 24-31 is missing on the right side.

Letter height: 0.8 cm. (for O and Ω) — 1.6 cm. (average h.) — Lines 1-2 have larger letter forms: 3 cm. (average h.)

Letter shapes: see Vandorpe 2000, p. 490-491.

- 1 Ἄκραν μὴ καταλαμβάνεσ-
- 2 θαι μὴ θένα μὴ δὲ ἄλλο ὄρος μὴ-
- 3 δὲν μὴ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγβάλλειν μὴ δέ-
- 4 να μὴ δὲ στασιάζειν μὴ δένα μὴ δὲ ὅπλα ἐκ-
- 5 φέρειν μάχιμα μὴ δένα· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀλῶι τοῦτω[ν]
- 6 τι ποιῶν ἰδούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικασ-
- 7 τῶν ὅσοι ἂν βουλευσῶνται τεθνήτωσαν·
- 8 [ἀ]ποκτεινάτωσαν δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ δικαστα-
- 9 [ι· ὅ]σοις ἂν δὲ μὴ δύνωνται ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλὰ ἐχφύγω-
- 10 {γω}σί που φυγαδεύσαντες ἔστωσαν πολέμιοι τῇ[ι]
- 11 πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνωσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ
- 12 καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτῶν καὶ ὃς ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν περιτυν-
- 13 χάνηι που ἀποκτεινάτω καὶ ἔστ' αὐτῶι κομίζειν σκῦλα
- 14 καταγαγεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴδεῖς κύριος ἔστω μὴ δὲ
- 15 ἐχθύσασθαι περὶ τούτων μὴ δένα μὴδέποτε· ἐὰν
- 16 δέ τις ἐπίηται ἐχθύεσθαι ταύροις τριετέσι λευκοῖς
- 17 τριακοσίοις καὶ κριοῖς λευκοῖς τριετέ[σι] τριακοσίοις καὶ
- 18 τράγοις λευκοῖς τριετέ{τε}σι τριακοσίοις καὶ ἀνθρῶπ[?ι] -
- 19 [νοις ?ὕπὲρ] ἀσυλία[ς τῆς πό]λεως, οἱ θεοὶ εἴησαν αὐτοῖς ἀλλ-
- 20 [?οτριοι - - -]
- 21+x Ἐὰν δὲ δια[κρ]ατήσωσιν οἱ καταλ[αβόμε]νοι τῇ-
- 22 ν ἄκραν ἀγβαλῶσιν τινὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλε[ω]ς ζη-

- 23 τείτω ἦ τε πόλις κἀναγέτω καὶ οἱ θεοὶ ἀνάστατα
24 πάντα ποιο[ῦ]ντες ἕως ἂν ἀγάγωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅσα ἂν [ἔχω-]
25 σιν τῶν ἐγβληθέντων οἱ ἐγβαλόντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἀπ[?]ῃ
26 ἀναβάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τινέτωσαν ἅπαντα ἐκ τ[ῶν]
27 ἰδίων καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχοὶ ἔστωσαν καὶ ἀποκτείν[έτω-]
28 σαν αὐτῶν τρεῖς τοὺς ἄρξαντας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τέως δ[ώ-]
29 δεκα τινέτωσαν ἅνα μνάς δεκά ἀργυρίου καὶ ἔστω ἱε[ρὸν]
30 ἅπαν [.....]
31 Περί κλοπῆς. Ὃς ἂν κλέψῃ τι οὐ πρότερον ἥσαν μναῖ τρεῖς]
32 νῦν δ' ἔστω θάνατος ἢ ζημία ἐλεγχθέντι *vac*
33 Αἱ δὲ ὁμολογίαι καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ
34 ἀρχόντων Μο.οιτου Μοασιος Ἰδααδιος *vac*.
35 Τοναῳλλιος Μαλλου Νου Εννεῖς Κουας Νανει[ς]
36 Σοας Μαγισιλβις Οαδεῖς Οας Αλουπαις *vac*.
or ³⁵ Νανει- ³⁶ Οας
37 Οἱς Αρμοας Ιβδαμοας Κιλασαρβης Σανεις Πονα-
or Οισαρμοας *or* Κιλας Αρβης
38 σαμῖς Κιλασαρβης Σίλλαβος Μοακλωῖας *vac*.
or Κιλας Αρβης
39 Κοτβασις.

The akra, no one may seize it nor any other mountain top; no one may exile (any one) from the city; no one may form a faction; no one may carry off battle arms.

(5) He who is caught doing one of these things shall die after observation by the city and by as many dikastai as (have) deliberated. The city and the dikastai shall kill them. Those who they cannot kill, but who escape somewhere, shall live in banishment and shall be enemies of the city and of the gods, until they have died, not only themselves but also their off-spring. (12) Any citizen who somewhere falls in with (them) shall kill (them) and is allowed to carry off spoils. No one is entitled to bring them down (to the city) nor ever to expiate them by offerings. If someone makes an attempt to make atonement by offerings of 300 white three-year-old bulls, 300 white three-year-old rams, 300 white three-year-old goats and by ?human matters - - - ?for the inviolability of the city, may the gods ?ignore them - - -.

(21) If those who have seized the akra, continue to hold it and if they exile some people out of the city, the city should look for them and bring them back, and the gods (will be) destroying everything until they have brought (the rebels) to justice; and everything which those who exiled (citizens), have taken from those who have been exiled and everything which is lost(?), (the rebels) should pay it back out of their own pockets when (the exiles) have returned, and (the rebels) should be subject to the gods and they should put to death three of them who were the leaders. The rest of them, up to the present twelve (in number), should pay (a penalty of) ten silver minas each and everything should be consecrated.

(31) (Law) concerning theft. He who steals something for which (the punishment) used to be three minas, let the punishment now be death if he is convicted.

(33) The agreements and accords have been made under the leaders Mo.oites, Moasis, Idaadis, Tonaollis, Mallos, Nous, Enneis, Kouas, Naneis, Soas, Magisilbis, Oadeis, Oas, Aloupais, Ois, Armoas, Ibdamoas, Kilasarbes, Saneis, Ponasamis, Kilasarbes, Sillabos, Moakloias, Kotbasis.

III. DATE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT [LATE 4TH–(EARLY) 3RD CENTURY BC]

The content and the letter forms suggest a date between 333 and 200 BC (preferably first half of the 3rd century), see Vandorpe 2000, p. 490-491. For the historical context, see Vandorpe 2000, p. 495-500.

IV. CONTENT

The end of the inscription defines the text as «agreements and accords» (αἱ δὲ ὁμολογίαι καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι, l. 33)¹ which have been made «under the *archontes*», followed by twenty-four Pisidian names. Since no city or town is mentioned, all Pisidians must be inhabitants of Sagalassos, where the inscription was found. The text consists of two parts: the terms of the agreements (ll. 1-32) and information on the magistrates and other people who made them (ll. 33-39).

The objective and the terms of the agreements as well as the magistrates involved are discussed. The interpretation of the inscription is in some minor points problematic, partly due to the bad quality of the Greek.

The objective of the agreements — The text aims at protecting the city, especially the akra and any other mountain top in order to avoid rebellions and other crimes.

The ἄκρα or ‘highest part’ is to be distinguished from the city (πόλις) itself (which is often already situated on a hill or mountain) and from the ἀκρόπολις (the highest part within the city). Contrary to the polis, the akra is controlled by a military officer such as the phrourarch. Contrary to the akropolis, it is usually difficult to reach, it may be girded by fortification walls and rarely encloses public buildings or sanctuaries, if

¹ The expression αἱ ὁμολογίαι καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι and the similarities with other agreements from Greek and Hellenistic cities settling a dispute (στάσις) have been discussed in Vandorpe 2000, p. 494-495.

at all. Other cities are known to have had an ἄκρα such as Priene, the Carian cities of Iasos and Theangela and Kition on Cyprus². The evidence dates from the same period as the Sagalassos inscription.

The akra of Sagalassos has been identified by M. Waelkens with the fortress of the Tekne Tepne (1885m) which overlooks the city and is located directly above the upper agora, where the inscription was undoubtedly erected before it was reused in a Byzantine building together with other inscriptions and statue bases from the upper agora (see V. Appendix).

The mountain tops which the inscription wants to protect are more difficult to identify. As suggested by M. Waelkens, one of them may be the center of Tepe Düzen (the Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe, 1784m), most probably the akropolis of the Ur-Sagalassos, which was integrated in the defence system of Hellenistic and Imperial Sagalassos (see V. Appendix). Another candidate is the Cincinkirik Tepe.

The date suggested by the letter forms and historical contents (early Hellenistic, preferably first half of the third century BC) may correspond to the building of Sagalassos' fortress on the akra (in its current form) and was contemporaneous with some of the watchtowers. The inscription may have been written either on the occasion of the building of the akra-fortress (in its current form) or after problems with rebels (see below). It was probably erected in the city, on the upper agora, where everyone could read the text. A parallel text from Teos, with similar intentions, was available in two copies, one of which had to be erected on the agora as well, the other one in a sanctuary (Robert 1976, p. 230).

The terms of the agreement — The preserved part of the agreements consists of a major article and a supplementary article. The stonecutter probably began to write the first two words of the supplementary article (Περὶ κλοπῆς) immediately after the first article (l. 30), but then erased the two words and started again on the next line (l. 31). Both articles were then separated by a paragraphus.

(Major article) The major article starts with a general ban (A) constructed with μή + infinitive. It is followed by specific cases where a person (B) or a group of persons (C) ignore one of the orders formulated in

² The term akra is discussed in more detail and with bibliographical references in Vandorpe 2000, p. 491-492.

the general ban. In these specific cases of disobedience measures have to be taken by the city, the *dikastai* and by the gods. Measures taken by the city or the *dikastai* are put in the imperative, those to be taken by the gods are formulated as a wish (optative, l. 19) or, unexpectedly, as a participle (l. 24).

(Major article A) Lines 1-5 contain a general ban recording what may not be done by citizens, written in larger characters (especially the first two lines): the *akra* or the other mountain tops may not be seized (*καταλαμβάνεσθαι*³), no one may exile (*ἐγβάλλειν*) a person, no one may form a faction (*στασιάζειν*) and no one may carry off (*ἐκφέρειν*) battle arms (*ὄπλα μάχιμα*⁴). The latter measure may point to battle arms which are taken from (hence the compound *ἐκ-φέρειν*) the *akra* towards the city. In the *akra* the guards were undoubtedly allowed to carry battle arms; according to an inscription from Teos each guard of the *akra* may have a shield and a helmet (which are defensive arms) as well as a spear (*δόρυ*) and a short sword (*μάχαιρα*)⁵.

The *akra* and the other mountain tops appear to be the strategic points of the city which need special protection: the inscription starts with the word ‘*akra*’ and the prohibition to seize the *akra* or other mountain tops. But also the other prohibitions listed in the general ban are indirectly related to the *akra*: it is only when the *akra* has been seized that rebels, having taken the battle arms, can exile citizens and start a revolt. Finally, ll. 21-30 are dedicated to measures taken when the *akra* is seized by rebels.

(Major article B) Lines 5-20 list what should be done when someone has ignored one of the orders formulated in the major article A. A person who ignores one of these orders is judged (*βουλεύεσθαι*) by a court of *dikastai*. If the offence is detected, ascertained (*ὁρᾶν*) by the city and by the judges, the convicted receive a severe punishment:

- (a) if they are captured they are put to death,
- (b) if they manage to escape, they «have to live in banishment and have to be (declared) enemy of the city and of the gods until they have

³ For the use of *καταλαμβάνεσθαι* to point to a non-legal action of seizing (a part of) a city, see Vandorpe 2000, p. 491 and notes 12-13; see also Robert 1976, p. 213.

⁴ A *ὄπλον* is in the first place a shield, but *ὄπλα* can, by extension, be used for all kinds of weapons, defensive and offensive, see A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, London 1967 (= 1982), *passim*; therefore, *μάχιμα* is added to point to offensive weapons or battle arms.

⁵ Robert 1976, p. 219-222.

died, themselves as well as their offspring». Apparently the city does not have to look for the convicted in this case (contrary to the group of rebels mentioned in C), but if a citizen «somewhere falls in with (rebels) he has to kill (them) and is allowed to carry off spoils». A citizen may not bring convicted persons down to the city and expiate them by offerings, not even if the sacrifices are excessive; the city may in that case grant the *asylia*-privilege, but the agreements express the wish that the gods ignore the offerings⁶. The excessive sacrifices described in the accord consist of 300 white three-year-old bulls, 300 white three-year-old rams and 300 white three-year-old goats. The offering of a triad of male animals is already found in Homer⁷. The specification of the age and color (esp. white and black) of sacrificial animals is also commonly attested⁸. The number of animals, 900 in all, is, however, unfeasible for individuals. The list of sacrifices ends with a damaged word, ll. 18-19: ἀνθρώπ[; one might think of human sacrifices (ἀνθρώπ[οις]) in order to underline the unfeasibility of the offerings, but human sacrifices would have been specified (e.g. amount) and would have started the list of offerings. Therefore, a supplement such as ἀνθρώπ[?ίνοις] (human matters, that are secular things as opposite to divine things) is more probable.

(**Major article C**) Lines 21-30 list what must be done when the guards (plural) of the akra continue to hold it after the expiry of their term. The inscription does not explicitly mention that the group involved are the guards, but several details support this suggestion, already formulated in Vanderpe 2000, p. 492. The fear that the guards would seize the akra and would start a rebellion, is also expressed by a contemporary inscription from Teos (Ionia) which produces relevant reference material⁹.

A group of 15 people guarded the akra of Sagalassos. Three leaders are mentioned in l. 28, called the «former leaders» (τοὺς ἄρχαντας¹⁰). The reason why three leaders are appointed for such a small group is

⁶ οἱ θεοὶ εἴησαν αὐτοῖς ἀλλ[?ότριοι], may the gods?ignore them, compare *IK* 23, l. 11-13, an inscription from Smyrna (Roman period): οἱ θεοὶ ... κεχολωμένοι αὐτῶι καὶ γένει αὐτοῦ εἴησαν («die Götter ... sollen ihm und seinem Geschlecht zürnen»).

⁷ See Stengel 1910, p. 195-196, for similar and other triads.

⁸ For the age, see Stengel 1910, p. 195-196, for the colour, see Stengel 1910, p. 187-190.

⁹ Robert 1976 = *SEG* XXVI 1306 and see *SEG* XXX 1376.

¹⁰ For the interpretation of ἄρχοντες as 'leaders, commanders' of a group of guards, see Vanderpe 2000, p. 494. See also Robert 1976, p. 196 and 205: leaders of a phourion or phourachs may be denoted by the term ἄρχοντες.

probably the complex situation of the northern defense system of the city. The other guards are apparently twelve in number up to the time that the inscription is made (ll. 28-29: τέως δ[ώ-]δεκα¹¹). A similar number of guards is found in the Teos inscription: the phrourach or military officer of the akra of Kyrbissos may take at least 20 citizens as watchmen. The Sagalassos inscription is the second source revealing the exact number of guards in the fortress of a city.

The Teos inscription very well illustrates the fear of the city that such a small number of guards would revolt and seize the akra. Therefore, several measures are taken to avoid a rebellion, for instance, the watchmen are citizens, not mercenaries. The measures taken by the city of Sagalassos are even more stringent than at Teos.

If the guards seize (καταλ[αβόμε]νοι) and continue to hold the akra (δια[κρ]ατήσωσιν), that is, among other things, if they do not leave the akra after the expiry of their term (the term in Teos was four months), and if they then exile (ἐγβαλῶσιν) people from the city, a series of measures is to be taken:

- (1) measures to be carried out by the city,
- (2) punishment of the rebels and rebel leaders.

(1) The city must look for the exiles and bring them back, whereas the gods ruin everything (οἱ θεοὶ ἀνάστατα πάντα ποιο[ῦ]ντες¹²) until the rebels have been seized and/or brought to justice¹³ (ἕως ἂν ἀγάγωσιν αὐτούς).

(2) When the exiles have returned, the rebels have to pay everything back out of their own pockets, that is everything which they have taken from the exiles and everything which is ἀπ[?]ῆι (?lost)¹⁴. Furthermore, they have to be subject to the gods (τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχολ¹⁵). This statement

¹¹ For the meaning here of τέως (up to the present), see Vandorpe 2000, p. 493.

¹² The expression ἀνάστατα ποιέω is also found in an Athenian inscription of 446-445 BC, in which the Athenians swear not to drive the Chalkidians out of Chalkis οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω; thus the Athenians will preserve the city of Chalkis and will not destroy it like they did with Hestiaia (Tod 1985 no. 42).

¹³ Both meanings are held by the verb ἄγειν. For the common meaning of ἄγειν, «carry off (as captives etc.)», see Van Effenterre *et alii* 1994, p. 219 («saisir... s'appliquant aux êtres vivants»).

¹⁴ The verb which best suits the sense needed here, is ἀπόλλυμαι. Given the length of the lacuna, the only possible supplements are ἀπ[ολώλη] or ἀπ[όληται], but even these forms are too long, unless the scribe has adapted the size of the lettering. In ancient Greek law systems the verb ἀπόλλυμι («to lose») had an ambiguous meaning, since stolen and lost (in a fire, etc.) property were not clearly distinguished, see Cohen 1983, p. 64-68.

¹⁵ For the expression, see the speech of Klearchos in Xenophon, *An.* II 5.7, where he states that everything is everywhere subject (ὑποχολ) to the gods.

is probably inspired by the fact that rebels or enemies are in general considered to be impious, sacrilegious (ἀσεβής)¹⁶; that is probably also the reason why in ll. 23-24 the gods are said to destroy everything until the rebels have been seized and/or brought to justice.

'They' also have to put to death (ἀποκτείν[έτω]σαν) three of those who have been the leaders; it is not clear whether the rebels are still the subject of the verb or the non-rebellious Sagalassians are meant.

The rest of the guards, up to the present twelve (in number), undergo a lighter punishment¹⁷: each of them has to pay a penalty of ten minas, the equivalent of 1000 workdays if we may assume that they earned 1 (Alexander) drachma¹⁸ a day as the guards at Teos. The fine is to be dedicated to the gods¹⁹.

The measures taken at Sagalassos are more severe than those taken at Teos, where only the leader (phrourach) is punished: he has to be banished and accursed and his goods are confiscated; the one who kills him is not polluted²⁰.

(Supplementary article) Lines 31-32 contain a law section introduced by the title Περί κλοπῆς: «(Law) concerning theft. He who steals something for which (the punishment) used to be three minas, now the punishment will be death if he is convicted».

The punishment for theft used to be (πρότερον) three minas; this clause shows there was already a law code at Sagalassos before the realization of the agreements end 4th-(early) 3rd century BC. Several Greek cities of Asia Minor drew up a law code or decrees with law articles at the end of the 4th-beginning of the 3rd century BC (see also Waelkens 2004).

¹⁶ See, for instance, *Inscriptionen von Priene* 17 on the Gauls.

¹⁷ For a parallel construction and a similar measure, see the measure taken by an aisymnetes from Miletos: τῶν δὲ κοινωνῶν τῶν φόνου τρεῖς ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις φυγὴν προ<σ>εῖπεν («of the accomplices in murder he had killed three, for the others he proclaimed banishment»), see Nicolas of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90 F53.

¹⁸ It is not clear which coins circulated in the region of Sagalassos in the early Hellenistic period. They were probably Alexanders, as in other parts of Asia Minor, see Vanderpe 2000, p. 499.

¹⁹ Compare, for instance, a law from Elis (before 450 BC): disobedient people or people who provoke a rebellion, have to pay a fine which in most cases has to be dedicated to Zeus of Olympia (Van Effenterre *et alii* 1994 no. 56).

²⁰ Robert 1976, p. 210-214.

It is not clear what kind of theft is dealt with. This must have been obvious when the earlier section of the law was consulted²¹. The punishment for theft for which (the punishment) used to be three minas, is changed into death if the accused is convicted. The measure is undoubtedly taken to avoid looting. The addition of ἐλεγχθέντι («if convicted, if proven guilty») is significant: there must be proof that the suspect is guilty²².

The immediate cause of the agreements — My study of Fragment B in 2000 discusses two possible immediate causes of the agreement: (a) either the inscription records general provisions at the occasion of the construction of a fortress on the akra and wants to avoid that the akra and the city would be seized by rebels, or (b) the inscription wants to put an end to a rebellion. The (new) Fragment A (ll. 1-19) shows that in any case more general provisions are involved, but Fragment B (ll. 21-32) may show that there were serious problems at the time. First of all, the new law on theft in ll. 31-32 is ‘draconian’: the money fine is replaced by the death sentence. Secondly, the punishments in general are very stringent. The above-mentioned inscription from Teos from the same period contains general provisions, which are less stringent than those at Sagalassos. But even for Teos L. Robert concluded: «On est frappé à la lecture de ces prévisions de rébellion du phrourarque, de combat et de sanction. Apparemment les Teiens avaient eu quelque expérience malheureuse dans une de leurs forteresses»²³. Finally, l. 21 may suggest that the akra has already been seized by rebel-guards: οἱ καταλ[αβόμε]νοι.

²¹ In Athens, for instance, there were four types of theft: three instances of aggravated theft and a category of simple theft. The three aggravated thefts were theft by night, theft of more than 50 drachms by day and theft from public places; they were punishable by death (θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν). Simple theft (theft of less than 50 drachms by day) was punishable by a double penalty plus five days in the stocks, see Cohen 1983, esp. p. 40 (= Vandorpe 2000, p. 493).

²² Compare *IK* 24 l. 736, an inscription from Smyrna (?121/122 AD): τὸν δ' εὔρεθέντα καὶ ἐλεγχθέντα τι τοιοῦτων πεποιηκέναι? δηναρίων ἑκατὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ζημίῃ, «Wer aber ertrappet und überführt wird, daß er etwas [Derartiges getan hat, soll] eine Strafe von hundert Denaren [zahlen?] für den Gott». See also *IG* XII Suppl. 644, l. 32 (ca. 200 BC, Chalkis): ἐλεγχθέντες παθέτωσαν, «If proven guilty, they have to undergo the punishment which...»; *Fouilles de Delphes* III 479, l. 8 (ca. 281 BC): ἐκόλασα[ν δ' εἴ τις ἐλεγχθείη?] τῶν ἐ[πα]ναχθέντων πρὸς αὐτοὺς κ[ακουργήσας ?κρίναντες κατὰ] τὸν νόμον, «If someone of those who have been referred to them, has done evil and is proven guilty, then they judged according to law and punished them» (= Vandorpe 2000, p. 493).

²³ Robert 1976, p. 213.

If there were problems indeed, they may have led to the agreements which settle the dispute in a more general way and which are valid in the future. The agreements may have been enforced by a Hellenistic king, which would explain the Greek character of the agreement in this early period as well as the imperative mood and the threat of the gods which the city imposes itself (see Vandorpe 2000, p. 494).

Magistrates in Sagalassos: archontes and dikastai? — The agreements mention archontes (l. 34) as well as dikastai (ll. 6-7 and 8-9).

The names of the persons who made the agreements published here and listed at the end of the inscription, are introduced by ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων, who may be 3, 6 or 24 in number²⁴. The interpretation of the term 'archontes' is problematic, especially since little is known about the 3rd-century BC institutions in Pisidia and neighboring regions. Are they the chief magistrates (usually three in number) representing the polis Sagalassos, is 'archontes' a general term for all the magistrates of a city, or, less probably, does the term refer here to the current three leaders of the fortress guards? These possibilities are discussed by Vandorpe 2000, p. 493-494.

It is conspicuous that 'dikastai' are twice mentioned alongside the 'polis', as if they are not really part of the city («the polis and the dikastai», see ll. 6-7 and 8-9). The dikastai have to deliberate (βουλεύεσθαι²⁵) upon citizens who have ignored the orders formulated in the major article A-B (ll. 1-5). Together with the polis, they have to punish the offenders. In the major article C, ll. 21-30, and in the additional article, ll. 31-32, the dikastai are not explicitly mentioned, but are undoubtedly called in when rebels are brought to justice (ll. 26-30) or when a thief has to be convicted (l. 32: ἐλεγχθέντι). The amount of judges is probably not fixed as no exact number is given, but is replaced by the expression ὅσοι.

Dikastai are found in an inscription of nearby Termessos, dated to 281/280 BC²⁶, that is to the same period as the Sagalassos text and written in similar letter forms²⁷. Termessos was at that time under Ptolemaic

²⁴ The first six names correspond to ἀρχόντων as they are in the genitive case (to be interpreted as three names and three fathers' names?); the remaining eighteen names are in the nominative for an unclear reason.

²⁵ Compare *IG* VII 189, l. 4 (242-223 BC, Megarid): dikastai οἵτινες ... βουλεύουσινται.

²⁶ Robert 1966, p. 53-58. See also Mitchell 1991, p. 124. For year 5 = 281/280 rather than 279/278, see R.A. Hazzard, in *Phoenix* 41 (1987), p. 156; id. 2000, p. 21.

²⁷ See Vandorpe 2000, p. 490.

rule. The three dikastai are recorded by name and patronymic in the opening formula and appear as the magistrates under whose authority the decree honouring a Macedonian officer of Ptolemy I, has been promulgated (ἐπὶ δικαστῶν), alongside a sovereign assembly (ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης). According to the editor Robert «Ce doit être bien plutôt une institution locale traditionnelle».

In our inscription the dikastai are probably not the main magistrates of Sagalassos as the agreements are made under the authority of archontes (see above). The dikastai are apparently a court of local judges; less probably foreign judges are involved²⁸.

List of Pisidian personal names — The early-Hellenistic inscription contains at the end a long list of indigenous, Anatolian personal names, discussed in detail by Vandorpe 2000, p. 500-505.

B-3000 Leuven

Katelijnn VANDORPE

Onderzoekseenheid Oude Geschiedenis

V. APPENDIX

The Akra and the Fortifications of Early Hellenistic Sagalassos

The akra at Sagalassos is certainly to be identified²⁹ with the fortress located on the Tekne Tepe (1885m) which dominates the city and is located directly above the upper agora. The fortress measures about 41 by 58m and has a watchtower on the northern side. Within the fortress other structures are visible, five of which consist of rooms. A rock-cut cistern lies next to rock-cut stairs, which probably led towards the parapet of the fortress wall. The inscription suggests that the fortress was, probably continuously, manned by some fifteen people (12 guards and 3 leaders).

As for its date, our knowledge of the earlier history and origin of Sagalassos has recently drastically been changed. In fact, whereas thus far, no pre-Hellenistic remains were found in situ at Sagalassos, leading

²⁸ The Hellenistic tribunals in Greek cities usely consisted of foreign judges, having full jurisdiction. These impartial judges were invited by the city itself or by the Hellenistic monarch in order to solve or avoid an internal social crisis. This widely known Hellenistic institution is brilliantly described by Robert 1973; for the dikastai in the Ptolemaic empire, see Bagnall 1976, p. 232.

²⁹ See Loots 2000, p. 605-614 and Vandorpe 2000, p. 492.

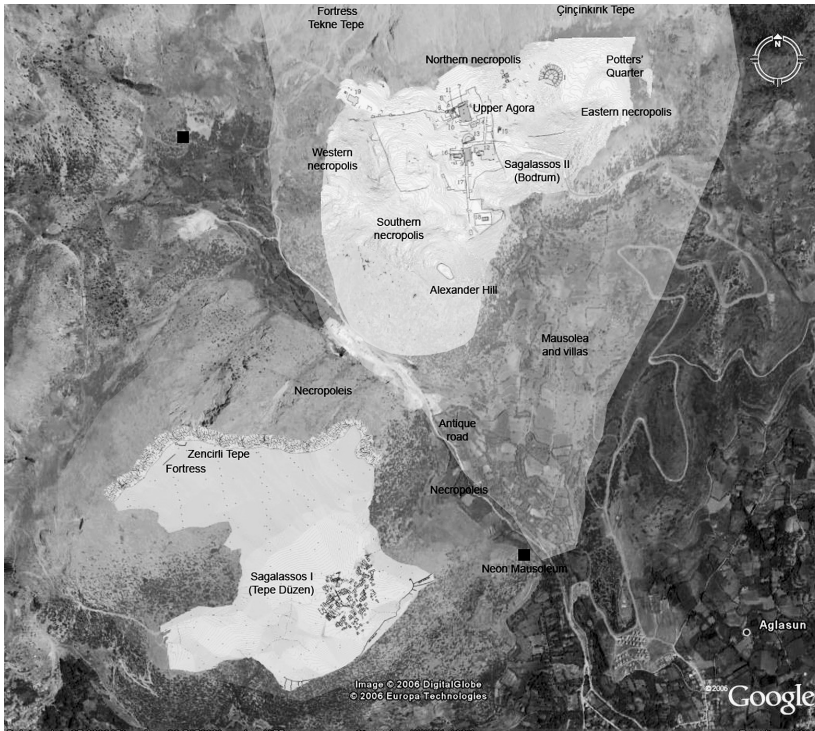


Fig. 3 – The map shows Ur-Sagalassos (Sagalassos I), located to the southwest of the Hellenistic to mid-Byzantine settlement (Sagalassos II). Sagalassos I is founded on a flat hill called Tepe Düzen, the center of which is a 1784m high hill, the Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe.

us originally to believe that the ‘akra’ was early Hellenistic, an ongoing study by H. Vanhaverbeke about the formation of territorial units in the Imperial territory of the city (Vanhaverbeke, forthcoming; Vanhaverbeke & Waelkens 2003, p. 217-227) shows that the Tekne Tepe may already have been part of a fortress or refuge system going back to the Late Bronze Age, when several similar systems emerged throughout the later territory of Sagalassos, apparently connected with the formation of several territorial units, of which the corresponding settlements have not yet been identified. In any case in its current shape, this ‘akra’ belongs to the early and possibly even to the pre-Hellenistic period. In 2005, the intensive suburban surveys supervised by Vanhaverbeke, confirmed by a test excavation in 2006, in collaboration with the Burdur Museum, showed that Geometric (8th century BC) to Post-Classical (4th century BC)

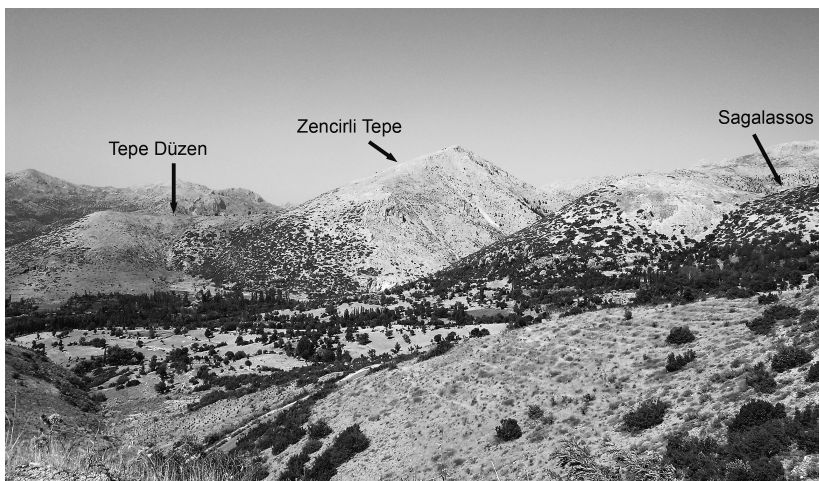


Fig. 4 – The fortified Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe, the akropolis of Ur-Sagalassos (I), remained part of the Hellenistic-Imperial defence system of Sagalassos (II).

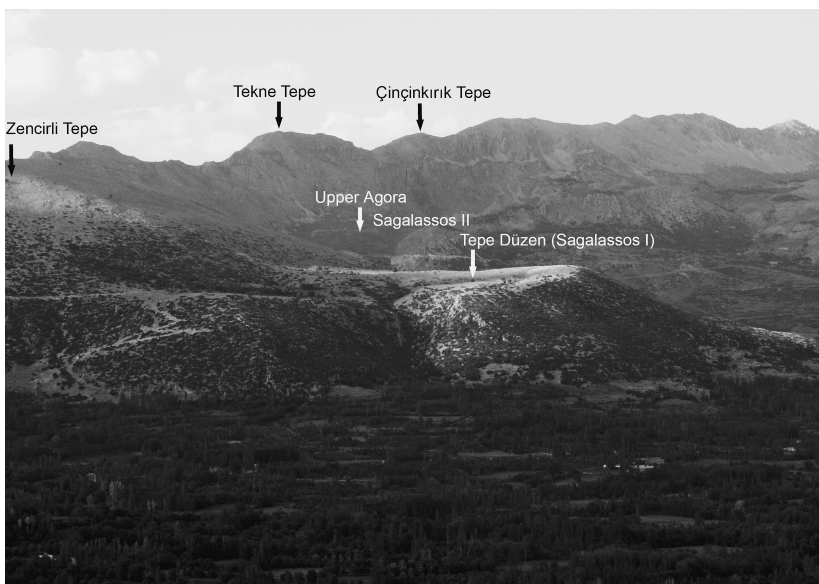


Fig. 5 – The defence system of Hellenistic-Imperial Sagalassos (II) comprised, *inter alia*, the ‘akra’, the fortress on the Tekne Tepe dominating the upper agora, and the fortified mountain tops (see ὄρος, inscription I. 2): the Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe and the Çiңinkirik Tepe.

Sagalassos surrounded by cyclopic defences over an area covering ca 122 ha, which is nearly ten times larger than the area of current Sagalassos surrounded by a defence wall in the later 3rd century BC (Waelkens 2004), was located 1,8 km to the southwest of the Hellenistic to mid-Byzantine settlement on a flat hill called Tepe Düzen. In the 4th century BC, probably due to water shortage caused by the karstic underground combined with a seismic (?) event, the population left Tepe Düzen, partially moving to modern Sagalassos, whereas others must have established themselves in other proto-urban centers, e.g. the one at Kepez Kalesi, which was surrounded in the 4th century BC by an impressive city wall in rusticated masonry, provided with five towers. As the site never developed any type of public or religious architecture, this and other proto-urban sites (e.g. Hisar) must have become part of Sagalassos' chora in pre-Hellenistic times. The center of Tepe Düzen is occupied by a 1784m high, separately walled sharp hill (Zencirli or Zencirükin Tepe), which may have acted as the akropolis of the Ur-Sagalassos. Most probably, it is one of the «mountain areas» (ὄρος) forbidden to occupy, as mentioned in the inscription, since it certainly remained part of the Hellenistic(-Imperial) defence system of Sagalassos.

As the fortress on the Tekne Tepe (1885m) is the highest fortified hill of such early date and clearly the center of current Sagalassos' Hellenistic (or earlier) territorial border defence system, it is visually interconnected with numerous fortresses and watchtowers located along the city's chora's borders or in between (Loots 2000; Vanhaverbeke & Waelkens 2003, p. 217-227, figs 85-89). It is the only candidate to be identified as the 'akra'. The Zencirli (or Zencirükin) Tepe (1784m) in the center of the Ur-Sagalassos at Tepe Düzen must have acted as the Geometric to Post-Classical predecessor of Sagalassos as it possesses all the features mentioned above characteristic of an akropolis. Once the current site replaced the former one, this fortified hill remained an important element in Sagalassos' defence (Loots 2000), and certainly must have been one of the other mountain tops around the urban site. The date of the watchtowers on the Cinçinkirik Tepe (1900m), located to the northeast of the city, cannot be established with certainty and the 'akra' are complemented by two barrier walls located below the northern crest of the mountain range, the Tekne Tepe and the eastern watchtower. The longer of the two, nearly 1.500m long (Loots 2000), eventually seems to have become part of the defence of the northern approaches to the Hellenistic city. Yet, it probably represents a later addition than the 'akra', possibly built with royal (Seleucid) money against the Galatians in

the earlier 3rd century BC (Waelkens 2004). Its relationship with the inscription is far from established.

The road approaching the city from the east and not visible from the city, was controlled by a watchtower situated to the east of the theatre and built against the southern edge of a rocky outcrop.

Whoever was master of the fortress or watchtowers had complete control of the upper parts of Sagalassos and of the northern, southern and eastern approaches to the city. But only those holding the 'akra' could also expel people by using artillery. Together with the barrier wall below it, the 'akra' eventually also became a kind of early Hellenistic great circuit wall to prevent an enemy placing artillery above the city (Waelkens 2004). The other watchtowers could never fulfill that same role.

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CLASS AND SOCIETY IN THE CITIES OF THE GREEK EAST: EDUCATION DURING THE EPHEBEIA*

Abstract: This article focuses on the character and objectives of the ephebeia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. *Communis opinio* holds that the post-classical ephebeia was an institution that aimed at preparing the sons of the elite for their future leading roles in the cities of the Greek East. Scholars have found confirmation of its elitist character in the downward slide of the age of admission into the ephebeia as compared to classical Athens. Its brief duration would moreover testify to the need to have their preparation completed as soon as possible. The inclusion of horse-riding on the program and the required level of intellectual education were thought to have put up barriers that excluded adolescents of lower rank. However, as I hope to show in the following, the epigraphic record does not support this sketch of the character of the post-classical ephebeia. Rather, it indicates that members were a more mixed group; that they were not particularly young and that duration of membership was flexible. Focus was on sports and moral rather than intellectual skills, with rewards given for 'discipline' and 'diligence' and ties with civic life closely knit. The purpose of creating a leading class was achieved not by exclusivity in membership, but by the establishment of an internal hierarchy amongst a wider group of participants that replicated the prevailing social structure of the cities. The ephebeia prepared both elite sons and non-aristocratic adolescents for civic life.

Keywords: ephebeia, education, Greek East, socialization, civic life, city

Intellectual, brief in duration, and only for the sons of the elite: this was the character of the institution of the Athenian ephebeia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is an established view that the ephebeia in the Greek East shared at least two of these characteristics. It too was intended only for the sons of the elite, who through their membership received the education necessary for their future leading roles in society. Like his post-classical Athenian counterpart, the eastern ephebe was expected to engage

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in a variety of sports, and had to master diverse intellectual disciplines¹. The exact length of an ephebe's membership, however, has been a much debated topic: estimates range from one to three years. As to the age of entry into the ephebeia, we encounter a similar situation. Some argue that a young man entered the ephebeia at the same age as the classical Athenian ephebe, roughly at 18 years; others suggest that he would have been younger, 14 or 15 years².

During much of the 20th century, these questions of duration and age were treated as isolated problems, until solutions were presented that were linked to general theories concerning the character and purpose of the ephebeia. Since the aim of the ephebeia was to prepare the sons of the upper class for taking over their fathers' tasks in social and political (city)life, it was argued by e.g. Pleket and Kleijwegt that their preparation must have been concluded as soon as possible. This would lessen the chances of their father dying — and consequently the power of the family with him — before the son was fully prepared to take on his new responsibilities. Thus, according to this theory, ephebes must have been young, fourteen years or even younger, and the ephebeia must have been limited to a duration of one year in most post-classical cities. Separated from their peers at an early age, these boys could all the more easily form a distinct group in society. The fact that inscriptions showed us how post-classical ephebes were trained in various sports, including horse riding, and in intellectual disciplines that required a considerable amount of preliminary education, seemed to confirm that the ephebeia was meant exclusively for the sons of the elite³. Apparently, the ephebeia fitted in perfectly with the norms and needs of aristocratised civic life.

It is true that one of the proponents of this theory, Pleket, in two of his later publications modified his position, by arguing that middle class boys

¹ Cf. for example H.-I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1965⁶ and M.P. NILSSON, *Die hellenistische Schule*, München 1955.

² The idea that ephebes in the cities of the Greek East were aged 18 at the start of their ephebeia seems to be based on the classical Athenian ephebeia, where the uniform age of entry for ephebes was 18 years. Cf. H.W. PLEKET, *Stadstaat en onderwijs in de Griekse wereld*, *Lampas* 14.3 (1981), p. 173, who describes this view as a «classicistische blunder» (transl. 'a classicizing blunder').

³ This elitist view was developed especially by Pleket and Kleijwegt. For Pleket's view see H.W. PLEKET, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 155-178 and *id.*, *Collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum. A Note on Ancient Youth Organisations*, *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969), p. 281-298. For that of Kleijwegt, see M. KLEIJWEGT, *Ancient youth. The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society*, Amsterdam 1991.

also frequented the gymnasium⁴. Unfortunately, however, this revision has not led to a re-investigation of all the arguments that have been adduced to buttress the view that the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East was elitist in character. The elitist interpretation seems to persist, apparently partly due to the fact that the elitist ephebeia of post-classical Athens is considered representative of the entire Hellenistic world⁵.

In this article, I want to re-examine what the epigraphic sources, mainly those from Asia Minor⁶, tell us about the age of the ephebes, about the duration of their membership, and about the kind of education they received as participants in the ephebeia. By this investigation of the epigraphic record, I hope to show that the arguments previously adduced to support the elitist view of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East are not entirely convincing. In fact, there are strong indications that, here, the ephebeia was not strictly limited to the elite, but open to a broader group of young people⁷. At first sight, the admission of middle-class boys into the ephebeia may seem irreconcilable with the dominant role of the elite in the cities of the Greek East. A close inspection of the epigraphic record shows, however, that this superficially attractive conclusion is unwarranted.

AGE OF THE EPHEBES

As we have just seen, the age of the ephebes has been used as an argument in favour of an elitist interpretation of the post-classical ephebeia.

⁴ See H.W. PLEKET, *L'agonismo sportivo*, in S. SETTIS and M.L. CATONI (eds.), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, I: *Noi e i Greci*, Turin 1996, p. 519-520 and ID., *Mass-Sport and Local Infrastructure in the Greek Cities of Roman Asia Minor*, *Stadion* 24.1 (1999), p. 153. Unfortunately, Pleket does not explore the implications of this modification. He briefly mentions the fact that benefactions could cover part of the costs of participation, but does not reconsider the validity of other arguments that have been adduced to support the idea of an elitist ephebeia in the Greek East.

⁵ The extent to which our view of the Hellenistic ephebeia is influenced by that of the Athenian ephebeia is illustrated by the fact that handbooks on the Hellenistic period often lack descriptions of the post-classical ephebeia outside Athens (cf. e.g. G. SHIPLEY, *The Greek World after Alexander, 323-30 BC*, London / New York 2000). The description of the Hellenistic ephebeia in *Der Neue Pauly* is also based on the assumption that the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East was similar in character to that of post-classical Athens. In contrast, the author of the entry in *OCD* (1996³) emphasizes that «the usual assumption, that Athens provided the model, is probably exaggerated».

⁶ The development of the character of the ephebeia in Egypt is an interesting matter as well, but beyond the scope of this article. Cf. note 41 for further literature on this topic.

⁷ I do not wish to argue that all adolescents were able to take part in the ephebeia; see below, p. 152.

Pleket states that the age for entrance to the ephebeia tended to fall, which resulted in *paides* being admitted to the ephebeia in the Roman period⁸. That is, even children aged under fourteen years came to participate in the ephebeia. Similarly, Kleijwegt emphasizes the youth of the ephebes in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor⁹.

However, a reconsideration of the (admittedly scanty) relevant epigraphic material¹⁰ casts serious doubt on this thesis. Although some post-classical ephebes were younger than their counterparts in classical Athens, their mean age seems to have been minimised. Among the nine texts I found that refer to the age of ephebes, only one describes a boy of fourteen years old as having been an ephebe¹¹. Another ephebe was fifteen¹²; two were sixteen¹³; another was seventeen¹⁴, and two were eighteen¹⁵.

⁸ H.W. PLEKET, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 165.

⁹ M. KLEIJWEGT, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 91-92.

¹⁰ I.e. material from cities in the Greek East during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, excluding Athens and Egypt, that informs us both of the age of an adolescent and of his membership of the ephebeia.

¹¹ C. DUNANT and J. POUILLoux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* II, Paris 1958, no. 254. Thasos, 3rd or 4th century AD. ΜΟΝ[...]ΟΙ ΕΦΗΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΙ ΕΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ — «For Mon[tan]os (?), who has been an ephebe, (having become) fourteen years». I cannot tell whether the aorist is indicating that we should regard his ephebeia as being completed, or is just hinting at a difference in condition between Mon[tan]os and the passer-by reading this inscription. As the boy was already dead, the aorist might be fitting anyway, regardless of whether Mon[tan]os died *being* an ephebe, or *having been* an ephebe.

¹² A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *Παῖδες ἄωροι — poésie funéraire* I (texts) and II (commentary), Athens 1978-1982, no. 62. From Gytheion (near Sparta), first century BC. Ἀτταλος ἐνθάδε ἐφηβ[ο]ς ἔτη ζήσας δέκ[α] πέντε κεῖται — «Attalos is lying here, the ephebe who has been living for fifteen years».

¹³ One of the two texts contains the only reference to the age of an ephebe in a city in the Greek East that I have been able to find in the literary sources. Written by Xenophon Ephesiacus, *Ephesiacorum Libri* V, ed. A.D. PAPANIKOLAOU, Leipzig 1973, 1.2.2. Ephesos, end of first century AD? He says about (H)abrokomes: ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ ἕξ καὶ δέκα ἔτη καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων προσήπτετο — «he was about sixteen years old and joined the ephebes». The second 16-year old ephebe comes from Arkesine on Amorgos, 1st century BC (possibly older), and outshined the other ephebes: τὸν δεκαῆξ ἐτέων ἀριθμοὺς προφέροντ' ἐν ἐφήβ[οις] αἰνόδακρυν λεύσσεις, ξεῖνε — «you are looking at the child of praise with the number of sixteen years, stranger, (the one) who surpassed the other ephebes». A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 95.

¹⁴ A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 77. Chios, 2nd century AD: ἔβδομον εἰς δέκατὸν τε βίου λυκάβαντα περῶντα (...) ἄρτι δ' ἐφηβείαις θάλλων Διονύσιος ἀκμαῖς καὶ σελίσιν Μουσῶν ἤλυθον εἰς Αἶδαν — «passing through the seventeenth year of my life (...) whilst I, Dionysios, was just blooming at the heights of the ephebeia and the brightness of the Muses, I went to Hades».

¹⁵ W. PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften* I, Berlin 1955, no. 48. Aigiale on Amorgos, 1st century BC: ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκ χαμύδος νεοπενθῆς ὄχρετ' ἐς Αἶδα

Two of these nine inscriptions present some difficulties regarding the age of the ephebes mentioned. The first, from Smyrna, is dedicated to the ephebe Herakleides. He passed away when he was «just joyfully crossing the number of sixteen years»¹⁶. The Greek is open to multiple interpretations here: it is hard to tell whether the term ‘crossing’ hints at the threshold to sixteen or to seventeen years. Hence the different interpretations given by various scholars¹⁷. I am inclined to agree with Petzl and Kleijwegt in regarding him as a seventeen-year-old ephebe. Since the verb ἀμείβω is often accompanied by an accusative and a genitive (ἀμείβω τί τινος: change X for Y), we seem to have an ellipsis of the genitive here, telling us that Herakleides changed the number of sixteen for that of seventeen. Either way, however, Herakleides was not a very young ephebe.

A similar problem of interpretation hinders our understanding of the epitaph for Prateonikos from Cardamyle¹⁸. This time it is the word μέτρον that causes trouble. Although we know that Prateonikos was eighteen years old when he died, we cannot be sure whether he was an ephebe at that moment. The text on his grave tells us he passed away οὐτ’ ἐς ἐφήβων μέτρον ἀφειγμένον — «without having reached the boundary of the ephebeia». Did Prateonikos die during his ephebeia, or before he started? Or, to put it differently, was the ‘μέτρον’ he did not reach the initial or the final border of the ephebeia? Again, both interpretations are defensible.

ὀκτωκαιδεχέτης — «since, just from his (ephebic) mantle he went to Hades, the one lately mourned, eighteen years old». The phrase ἐκ χλαμύδος demonstrates that the boy to whom this inscription was dedicated was an ephebe. The χλαμύς was a cloak specifically associated with ephebes, cf. *LSJ*: ἐκ χλαμύδος = ἐξ ἐφήβου. The second 18-year old ephebe came from Kalchedon (Hellenistic period): (...) οὐπω ἐφειβήην θηκάμενος χλαμύδα ὀκτωκαιδεχέτης δ’ ἔλιπεν φάος — «whilst he had not yet laid off his ephebic mantle, at eighteen, he left the light behind». The outcome of a discussion on the interpretation of θηκάμενος χλαμύδα is that the boy had not yet put down his ephebic cloak, and so was an ephebe at 18. See P. GAUTHIER, *A propos des chlamydes des éphebes: note rectificative*, *Chiron* 16 (1986), p. 15-16. For the text edition see R. MERKELBACH, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon (IGSK, vol. 20)*, Bonn 1980, no. 32.

¹⁶ A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 138: ἄρτι δ’ ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ δὲ ξξ καὶ δέκα τερπνὸς ἀμείβων. Cf. G. PETZL, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna I (IGSK, vol. 23)*, Bonn 1982, no. 552.

¹⁷ Cf. the translation by G. PETZL, *op. cit.* (n. 16), no. 552: «eben noch sechzehn Lebensjahre fröhlich vollendend». Kleijwegt also presents Herakleides as a seventeen year-old ephebe: M. KLEIJWEGT, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 91-92, n. 95. VÉrilhac thinks he must have been sixteen: A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 207.

¹⁸ Published by A.-M. VÉRILHAC, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 139. Cardamyle, 2nd century AD.

However, regardless of the fact that we do not know exactly at what age Prateonikos was an ephebe, he cannot have been an ephebe at fourteen, the age that Pleket and Kleijwegt seem to regard as customary.

In order to support the thesis that ephebes were very young, Kleijwegt adduces two additional pieces of epigraphical evidence from Thasos and Icaria, which he interprets as referring to an ephebe of twelve years old, and even one aged seven. However, the inscription from Thasos says only that Athlos, a boy aged seven, «was to be an ephebe soon», *τάχ' ἐφηβε[ύσσοντα]*¹⁹. We cannot be sure when that moment was to arrive: Athlos died at age seven, being described as *παῖδα* by his father. Instead of taking the phrase *τάχα* literally, we may interpret it as a poetical hyperbole, designed to express an intense feeling of sorrow over Athlos' premature death. In any case, the vagueness of the adverb *τάχα* permits no conclusion as to the age of entry into the ephebeia. The ephebe of twelve years turns out not to be an ephebe at all. He was a *pais*, as the text destined to mark his grave tells us: *Δωδεκέτους τάφος εἰμὶ Φιλοκλέος, ὃν θέτο μάτηρ ἀχνυμένα λυγρὸν παῖδα Φιλοκρατέα* — «I am the tomb of the twelve year old Philokles, (the grave) that his mother Philokratea erected, mourning for her unfortunate child»²⁰.

Surely, from a modern statistical point of view, the number of nine inscriptions is even less than minimal, and therefore any conclusion concerning the average age of the ephebes in the cities of the Greek East is necessarily tentative and open to challenge. Nonetheless, it suffices to outweigh the evidence that has been relied on to support the thesis of (very) young ephebes. The evidence presented above suggests that the average age of the ephebes in the cities of the Greek East was nearer to sixteen than to fourteen.

¹⁹ C. DUNANT and J. POUILLoux, *op. cit.* (n. 11), no. 337: *ἐπταετῇ με θανόντα πατὴρ ἀπεγράψατο παῖδα τύμβου ἐπὶ στήλῃς Ἰθλὸν ἔχοντ' ὄνομα· ὃν τάχ' ἐφηβε[ύσσοντα]* — «When I died at age seven, my father inscribed me on a grave-stone as a *pais*, I who carried the name of Athlos, and who would become an ephebe soon».

²⁰ G. KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin 1878, no. 295. Icaria, undated. The rest of the inscription shows as well that Philokles was not yet an ephebe: *σχέτλιος, οὐδ' ἔφθη χλάμυδας περὶ χρωτὶ βαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐσιδεῖν Ἑρμῆν γυμνασίου πρόεδρον* — «the miserable one, he was too young to wrap his body up in a mantle and to look at Hermes, the leader of the gymnasium».

LENGTH OF THE EPHEBEIA

The duration of the post-classical ephebeia also attracted a considerable amount of attention. Scholarly discussion confined itself to finding the answer to the question of whether the duration of the ephebeia in the majority of the cities was one, two or three years. Diametrically opposed views were defended by Marrou, who regarded a duration of one year as the norm, and Nilsson, who argued that a one-year ephebeia was exceptional and that membership lasted for three years in most cities. The same inscriptions were used to support either view. Often-cited examples are the ephebeia in Chalcis, which may have lasted only one year, that of Apollonis (two years), and the ephebeia at Chios, where membership could last for three years²¹. As several other inscriptions indicate a two-year or a three-year duration, we should not dismiss the cases of Apollonis and Chios as exceptional²². On the other hand, there are no grounds for believing that most cities had a two-year or a three-year ephebeia²³.

²¹ Chalcis: *BCH* 103 (1979), p. 174-176: ΕΦΗΒΩΝ ΤΗΤΙΝΩΝ...; ΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ... — «the ephebes of the/this year...; the younger ones...». The inscription is problematic and possible interpretations vary between one year, shorter than one year and longer than one year. Apollonis: *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1204: οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ... διετεῖς μὲν ... ἐφέτῃοι δέ — «the ones who have been ephebes ... the second-years ... and the first-years» and no. 1206: οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες (...) διετεῖς μὲν ἐφέτῃοι δέ [...]... Chios: *Syll.*³ (1920), no. 959: ἐφήβων νεωτέρων ... μέσων ... πρεσβυτέρων — «the younger ephebes ... the middle ones ... the elder ones».

²² Apart from the texts from Apollonis and Chios, seven other inscriptions show a two-year or a three-year ephebeia: (1) L. JONNES, *The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica* (IGSK, vol. 47), Bonn 1994, no. 60b (several years): ἐφήβων νεωτέρων — «the younger ephebes»; (2) *Sitzungsberichte Wien* 132 (1895), p. 29, no. 2 (Halicarnassos, several years): Διονύσιος Διοδότου νικήσας ἐφήβους νεωτέρου[ς] — «Dionysios, son of Diodotos, has defeated the younger ephebes»; (3) *IG* XII 5, no. 39 (Naxos, two years): [ἔ]φηβ[ο]ι περ[υ]σινοί ... [προ]περ[υ]σινοί — «the ephebes of last year ...; those of the year before last year...»; (4) *CIG* II, no. 3665 (Kyzikos, two years): Β' ἐφηβος — «ephebe twice»; (5) H. MALAY, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis* (*Denkschr. Wien* 279), Vienna 1999, p. 33-34, no. 16 (Thyateira, three years): τριετεῖς — «(ephebes) of three years»; (6) *SEG* XLIII (1993), no. 145 (Messene, three years): three lists of τριετίρνεες — «(ephebes) of three years» and (7) *SEG* XLVI (1996), no. 2221 (Teuchira, three years): τρίς ἐφηβος — «ephebe three times».

²³ In modern literature I have found only two references concerning a one-year ephebeia in the Greek East, yet I cannot tell whether the scantiness of references to a one-year duration is due to a lack of inscriptions, or rather due to the fact that a one-year ephebeia is regarded as too evident to need further explanation. Evidence is found in a series of inscriptions from Stuberra: *SEG* XXXVIII (1988), no. 675-685 (duration of one year implied by a lack of subdivision, even on a list with 135 names). The second reference is found in the explanation of a dream by Artemidoros from Daldis (*I* 54, l. 3-6). When someone dreams of being an ephebe, he will be idle for a year: ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ εἶπον διὰ τὸν τῆς

The evidence clearly shows that the ephebeia had no uniform length, but could vary from city to city. Therefore a choice between Marrou's and Nilsson's theories seems unnecessary.

Moreover, by confining itself to the question of regional variation, scholarly discussion has overlooked an important question that may contribute to our knowledge of the ephebeia: the question of whether length of membership could vary *within* the ephebeia of a single city. Several inscriptions recording the members of the ephebeia in a specific year classify the ephebes in subgroups. The arrangement according to age and/or length of membership is indicated by formulas like ἐφήβων νεωτέρων ... μέσων ... πρεσβυτέρων or οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ... διετεῖς μὲν ... ἐφέτηοι δέ²⁴. Two of these inscriptions, both from Apollonis, show a marked difference between the number of first-year ephebes and that of the juveniles who were members of the ephebeia for a longer period. According to the first catalogue, there were at least sixteen first-year but only three second-year ephebes²⁵. The second inscription from Apollonis suffers from lacunas. Despite this, it is clear that there cannot have been more than two names of ephebes filling the lacuna under what must have been the heading of the second-year ephebes, whereas six ephebes were registered as first-year members, ἐφέτηοι δέ²⁶. These variations seem too large to be explained as coincidences, or as the outcome of demographic fluctuations. Presumably not all teenagers who became members of the ephebeia completed the full course; their numbers were considerably reduced after the first year of membership. Apparently, the age-group structure of the ephebeia was pyramid-like, with a broad basis of ephebes entering the first year, and a much narrower layer of second- (or third-) year ephebes. This suggests that variations in length of membership could be a way of differentiating between ephebes of various standing within the ephebeia.

An inscription from Kyzikos supports this idea²⁷. On the inscription the names of 60 ephebes are preserved, but a lacuna probably contained

ἐφηβίας χρόνον. εἰ δέ που τριετίας ἐφηβεύουσι χρόνον, πρὸς τὸ τοπικὸν ἐξετάζειν χρή — «one year I said because of the length of the ephebeia. But if they are ephebes for three years somewhere, we must examine (the dream) according to local circumstances».

²⁴ E.g. *Syll*³ (1920), no. 959 and *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1204 (cf. n. 21).

²⁵ Apollonis (Lydia), ca. 150-100 BC; *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1204. The inscription is broken off after the sixteenth name of the first-year ephebes.

²⁶ Apollonis (Lydia), ca. 100 BC; *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1206.

²⁷ *CIG* II, no. 3665.

another 19 names; one of the ephebes, a certain Euelpistos, is specified as a β' ἔφηβος. The symbol β' is added to several names on this ephebic list as an indication of homonymy²⁸. However, the addition of the word ἔφηβος, which is lacking in the other cases where the symbol β' is used, leads us to infer that we should interpret this phrase as 'Euelpistos, ephebe for the second time' rather than as 'Euelpistos, son of Euelpistos, ephebe'²⁹. Moreover, contrary to the rest of the ephebes, who are listed according to the tribes to which they belonged, Euelpistos is not included among the other ephebes belonging to his tribe Αἰγικορεύς. His name appears at the top of the list, together with that of a certain Markos Aurelios Eutyches, who, being the διοικητής, probably performed an administrative or financial function in the ephebeia³⁰. Euelpistos' position at the top of the ephebic list suggests that he had a special role in the ephebeia, either because he was the only second-year ephebe, or because he combined his second-year membership with the holding of a function within the ephebeia. If that was the case, it would explain why Euelpistos is mentioned in the same breath as Eutyches, the διοικητής. At any rate, Euelpistos is definitely singled out from his co-ephebes by his prominent position on the inscription.

One of the inscriptions from Apollonis may shed some light on the social background of the ephebes who continued their ephebeia with a second or third year of membership. The ephebarch referred to in the inscription, Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίου, was the son of the man who held the offices of gymnasiarch and stephanephoros in the same year³¹. The name of this Apollonides appears again on the inscription. While there is some doubt as

²⁸ There were three of these ephebes carrying the name of their fathers: see lines 20, 45 and 48 of the above-mentioned inscription.

²⁹ In this interpretation of Ἰούλιος Λόλλιος Ἰγνάτιος Εὐέλπιστος Αἰγικορεύς β' ἔφηβος I follow H.-I. MARROU, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 171 and A. BÖCKH, *CIG* II, no. 3665. Also, in this case the addition 'β' ἔφηβος' follows only *after* the tribe (Αἰγικορεύς), whereas you would expect it to be mentioned before that, directly after Εὐέλπιστος, if it were an indication of homonymy. The fact that this leaves Euelpistos without patronymic does not make him an exception on the list.

³⁰ According to Böckh, this Eutyches was an ephebe as well, although he is not explicitly described as such. Cf. his commentary on *CIG* II, no. 3665.

³¹ The ephebarch was the leader of the ephebes. Although there are attestations of ephebes being ephebarchs (e.g. *SEG* XXXVIII [1998], no. 683 from Stuberra), their function was probably only nominal — the real work was done by their fathers. In most cases, however, *neoi* — roughly aged between 20 and 30 — seem to have fulfilled the ephebarchy, as Kennell recently concluded. See for discussion on this topic N.M. KENNEL, *The Status of the Ephebarch, Tyche* 15 (2000), p. 103-108.

to whether this second passage was written *in rasura* or not, this does not detract from the information the lines provide us with: Apollonides is mentioned as one of the three young men who were second-year ephebes (διετείς)³². That this is the same Apollonides as the one who was the ephebarch is made clear by the description accompanying his name: Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐφήβαρχος. Apollonides was therefore both ephebarch *and* one of the few second-year ephebes. This would mean that one of the three boys who enjoyed a longer membership than the others had a truly aristocratic background: as we have seen, his father could afford to hold both the gymnasiarchy and the stephanephory, which demanded high financial investments even when performed separately. This background may well have been the reason for Apollonides' election to the honorary task of «leader of the ephebes», and will have given him the opportunity to distinguish himself from his fellow ephebes.

An inscription from Odessos at the Black Sea points in the same direction. Here, a list of 93 ephebes starts with a passage describing a certain Marcus Aurelius as being «the first of the ephebes», 'protostatès' and ephebarch. He was also the son of a man who was a priest for the Great Derzela, for Athena and for Herakles. Therefore, this ephebe, who had a prominent role within the ephebeia, was a member of a family belonging to the upper class of the city of Odessos³³.

Yet, even without the indications provided by these inscriptions, there can hardly be any doubt as to the social background of those most likely to continue their ephebeia into a second or third year: the options open to an ephebe must largely have been determined by his — or his parents' — financial scope.

INTERNAL HIERARCHY

The internal hierarchy within the ephebeia that could be established by picking out a few boys for one or two extra years of education could have

³² Whereas Keil in *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1204 recognized traces of an ancient correction on this part of the stone, and put this passage in double '*in rasura*' brackets, the *editio princeps* of Fontrier in *Museion kai Bibliothèkè* V 2 (1885-1886), p. 65, no. φνγ' and that of Foucart in *BCH* 11 (1887), p. 86, no. 6 do not mark such a *rasura*. The fact that neither of them saw anything remarkable suggests that the text is in good condition and easy to read — whatever erasures the ancient stone-cutter may have been making in these lines, the name of Apollonides apparently was not one of them: it is still clearly visible.

³³ Cf. *IGBR* I (1970), no. 47b, l. 7-9.

been strengthened by assigning (nominal) offices to certain ephebes. The case of Apollonides has already suggested this — and he was not the only one: on an ephebic list from his hometown Apollonis, the ephebe Damonikos is described as a gymnasiarch. His father shouldered the costs of the oil he had to provide, which shows that this ephebe must have been the son of a rich man. Although he probably did not carry out the tasks of the office of gymnasiarch by himself, Damonikos was nevertheless awarded the honours³⁴. By investing his father's money, Damonikos alleviated the financial burdens of his fellow ephebes. Several inscriptions from Apollonis, including the ephebic list that mentions Damonikos, refer to boys participating in the ephebeia without having to pay³⁵.

Two texts from Beroia and Oinoanda do not speak of ephebes, but of *paides* and *neoi* — their younger and older fellow pupils. However, they do confirm that euergetism within groups of students was not an unusual means of meeting education costs. In Beroia, three *paides* and three *neoi* were designated to organise torch races in honour of Hermes³⁶. They also became leaders of a running team and paid to provide for the team's oil. The children and young men in question were thus caused to act as euergetai. But there was a way out: if a boy or a young man, his parents, brothers or foster parents swore that they did not have the financial capacity to pay for ten days of oil for a team, the *pais* or *neos* was discharged from his task. In Oinoanda, the situation was similar. The inscription from this town explicitly states that the team leaders were not chosen from all young people, but only from those of the highest birth: ἐκ τῶν εὐγενεστά[των] παίδων³⁷. Unmistakably, the richest *paides* were supposed to act as euergetai for the boys whose families did not have an equal amount of money at their disposal. By their actions, they added to the numerous benefactions of the gymnasiarch³⁸. Donations that reduced the ephebes'

³⁴ On the topic of ephebes as (honorary) magistrates, see J.H.M. STRUBBE, *Young Magistrates in the Greek East*, *Mnemosyne* 58.1 (2005), p. 102-104. The inscription is published in *TAM V* 2 (1989), no. 1203.

³⁵ Names listed under the heading οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτῶν δωρεάν in *TAM V* 2 (1989), no. 1203, 1204, 1205, (1206, restitution) and 1208.

³⁶ See P. GAUTHIER and M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia* (*Meletemata*, 16), Athens 1993, p. 23, l. 72-77.

³⁷ M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (*Vestigia* 39), München 1988, p. 10, l. 65-68 and p. 220-226 (commentary).

³⁸ Since there is a very large collection of inscriptions recording benefactions by gymnasiarchs, it is neither possible nor useful to refer to them in detail here. For brief accounts see, e.g., F. QUASS, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens*,

educational costs could be quite substantial, both in scale and duration. A series of eleven ephebic catalogues from Stuberra, dateable between 41 and 122 AD, illustrate the point: all of them show either gymnasiarchs or other euergetai paying for all olive oil. A gift made by one of them, a certain Philon, was large enough to secure the ephebes' oil for 35 years³⁹.

Even if both gymnasiarchs and other ephebes acted as benefactors towards those participating in the ephebeia, membership of this institution still had financial consequences for an ephebe's family. For example, ephebes were expected to contribute to sacrifices to the gods, as we know from the Beroian law⁴⁰. If a family could not afford to lose a son's contribution to its labour capacity or income, it could simply not afford to let him take part in the ephebeia. This will definitely have excluded lower-class boys from the ephebeia. On the other hand, benefactions by gymnasiarchs, other euergetai, and rich ephebes will have reduced general costs of participation to a considerable extent, and eased membership for citizen boys who did not belong to the aristocracy⁴¹. It may therefore be an exaggeration to think that the costs of participation made the ephebeia exclusively aristocratic⁴².

Lists of young men participating in the ephebeia seem to confirm this wider participation. Several inscriptions list a considerable number of participants. In Kyzikos, there were 79 members; a list from the city of Pergamon shows that there were 98 new ephebes in one year; Thyateira

Stuttgart 1993, p. 206-207 and 317-323; C. SCHULER, *Die Gymnasiarchie in hellenistischer Zeit*, in D. KAH and P. SCHOLZ (eds.) *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Berlin 2004, p. 163-192 and M.P. NILSSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 54-56.

³⁹ SEG 38 (1988), nos. 675-685. There are inscriptions for every decade, except that of 60-69 AD. Olive oil provided by Philon: nos. 681-685, dating between 87-88 and 121-122 AD.

⁴⁰ P. GAUTHIER and M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 22, l. 61-65.

⁴¹ Regarding this aspect, it is interesting to note that the Zenon archives from Egypt contain letters from boys unable to meet their education expenses who ask for support by benefactors. Cf. e.g. W. CLARYSSE and K. VANDORPE, *Zenon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des pyramides*, Leuven 1995, p. 57-62. Van Minnen doubts the thesis that in Egypt οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου were the elite: P. VAN MINNEN, Αἱ ἀπο γυμνασίου, in *Studia Hellenistica* 37 (2002), p. 337-353. For a general overview of the ephebeia in Egypt and its development, see B. LEGRAS, *Néotês. Recherches sur les jeunes grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine*, Geneva 1999.

⁴² Cf. W.V. HARRIS, *Ancient literacy*, Cambridge / London 1989, on education for *paides*. He believes primary education was not restricted to the children of the elite, although parents had to pay for it. According to Harris the difference between rich and less rich was rather brought to the fore by differences in length of participation — just as I assume is the case for the ephebeia.

knew between 39 and 42 ephebes; Messene 35, Stuberra 135, Thespieae 55, Kios 56, and Kalindoia 89; Carian Iasos had up to 46 a year, and one of the lists from Apollonis counts at least 56 participants⁴³. Unfortunately though, the size of the populations of these cities is not preserved, nor can they be established by any other means. However, the majority of ancient cities were very small by our standards — it is assumed that they will have had between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants; often 5,000 or less⁴⁴. Taking into account that we have to deduct women and men of other age groups from this number, the total number of young men participating in the ephebeia mentioned in the inscriptions seems too high for them all to be sons of the elite — unless we assume that these cities were overflowing with rich families⁴⁵.

Unlike those who assume that the elite's need to distinguish itself is incompatible with a broader admission to the ephebeia, I do not believe that the one excluded the other. A mixture of upper class adolescents with boys from less wealthy families did not prevent the ephebeia from being an institution where the sons of the rich could distinguish themselves from their fellow ephebes who stood a few rungs below them on the social ladder. In fact our epigraphical sources suggest that a socially mixed ephebeia gave these elite adolescents excellent opportunities for achieving this distinction. By varying the length of membership, by assigning honorary tasks to a

⁴³ Kyzikos: *CIG* II, no. 3665; Pergamon: *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904), p. 170-173, no. 14 (all were ἐκκριθέντες ἐκ τῶν παίδων εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους); Thyateira: H. MALAY, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 33-34, no. 16 (and fig. 17); Messene: *SEG* XLIII (1993), no. 145; Stuberra: *SEG* XXXVIII (1988), no. 679; Thespieae: *IG* VII 1777; Kios: T. CORSTEN, *Die Inschriften von Kios* (*IGSK*, vol. 29), Bonn 1985, no. 16; Kalindoia: P. GAUTHIER and M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 168; Iasos: W. BLÜMEL, *Die Inschriften von Iasos II* (*IGSK*, vol. 28.2), Bonn 1985, no. 280; Apollonis: *TAM* V 2 (1989), no. 1203.

⁴⁴ On city size cf. H.W. PLEKET in F. VITTINGHOFF (ed.), *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Handbuch der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 1), Stuttgart 1990, p. 34.

⁴⁵ In order to exclude women, we would have to take off half the number of inhabitants, assuming that the male-female ratio was (close to) even. That would leave 2,500 to 5,000 men. Assuming that the elite consisted of a maximum of 10% of the total number of inhabitants, the elite ranks would consist of 250 to 500 men. As the age-group to which the ephebes belonged consisted of ca. 5.7 % of the total number of men, we would expect the ephebeia to have somewhere between 14 and 29 members in a medium-sized city, if it consisted of the sons of the elite only (5.7% of 250 to 500 elite men). However, as the membership lists of the above-mentioned cities show, its number of participants was often considerably higher. 5.7% is based on a maximum duration of the ephebeia of three years or 3/5 of the 15-20 age bracket. It is derived from Coale-Demeny's West model (level 3), which is regarded as the safest model for antiquity by T. PARKIN, *Demography and Roman Society*, Baltimore / London 1992, p. 145, table 7).

limited number of ephebes, and by giving some of them the opportunity to act as benefactors towards the others the ephebeia created a hierarchy among ephebes. This internal hierarchy must have given the elite an excellent means of passing on the existing social structures to the next generation. It may have worked as well as, or even better than, isolating the sons of the aristocracy in an exclusive ephebeia. Precisely by mixing the future leaders of society and those destined to be a little lower down the social scale, the ephebes would, by direct confrontation, get to know and come to terms with their position in society. If the ephebeia helped to internalise prevailing ideas about the 'right' structure of civic life in future generations, it might also help in forestalling potential problems or tensions between the elite and those free citizens who felt they also had the right to belong to this elite. In civic communities as small as many of the cities in Hellenistic and Roman antiquity this kind of socialization would fulfill a need.

SPORTS AND INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION

The idea that the ephebeia functioned as a socialising institution by establishing a hierarchy amongst its participants, a hierarchy which replicated the social structure of the cities in the Greek East in which they were going to function, is not incompatible with the content of the education enjoyed by the ephebes, as I hope to show in this section.

The general picture of the content of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East which has emerged since Marrou is a mixture of sporting or pseudo-military activities combined with intellectual education, consisting of literature, music, mathematics, and other scientific subjects. However, in his account of the content of ancient education Marrou did not consistently separate his data on the ephebeia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the East from that which relates to education in other periods or from data relating to other age groups. Our picture may therefore be partly distorted, and it seems worthwhile to take a fresh look at the evidence concerning the education received by ephebes in Hellenistic and Roman times. There is no doubt that ephebes were trained in a range of sports, for example, archery, javelin throwing, combat sports, torch races, and various running distances⁴⁶. Although *communis opinio*

⁴⁶ The disciplines in the programme of the ephebeia could vary from city to city. The sports referred to in the main text form a recurring pattern on inscriptions from (mainly)

holds that the military role of the ephebes faded in the Hellenistic period, this kind of physical training is sometimes thought of as military symbolism or as pseudo-military in character⁴⁷. This problem will not, however, be considered here. Instead, I prefer to concentrate on two other elements of the education of post-classical ephebes which have been used to underline the elitist character of the ephebeia in Asia Minor: first, the intellectual education received by the ephebes and, second, the practice of horse riding.

The intellectual education that boys are supposed to have received as part of their ephebeia is considered to have worked as a selective mechanism that excluded the non-elite⁴⁸. After all, if a boy was to comprehend subject matters at this 'secondary level' of education, he should have completed the full seven years of first level education as a *παῖς*, and, as has rightly been underlined, there will not have been many boys that were so privileged. In general, children are likely to have received only one or two years of primary education in the period between their seventh and fourteenth birthdays.⁴⁹ From this it has been inferred that most boys were unable to take part in the ephebeia simply because they lacked the skills and knowledge required at the outset. There can surely be no doubt that there existed a level of 'secondary' intellectual education, focusing mainly on literary studies, between the levels of basic education and rhetoric, and that, if this secondary education was provided within the framework of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East, it would have excluded anyone who did not have the necessary basic skills. But was it the

Asia Minor. Other sports were practised, but were presumably less widespread; e.g. slinging (see L. JONNES, *op. cit.* [n. 22], no. 60b).

⁴⁷ As the Athenian ephebeia started as a form of military service, the question is whether (and to what extent) the sporting exercises and competitions found in the ephebeia of the cities of the Greek East were a continuation of the initial military training, or rather an expression of the sportive and competitive character of Greek society in general. For the most recent view on the military aspect of the ephebeia in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods see A.S. CHANKOWSKI, *L'éphébie, une institution d'éducation civique*, in J.-M. PAILLER and P. PAYEN (eds.), *Que reste-t-il de l'éducation classique? Relire 'Le Marrou' Histoire de l'éducation classique*, Toulouse 2004, p. 277-279. Although he regards the ephebeia as having a military character, he assigns it a traditional and symbolic rather than a practical value.

⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. A.R. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London / Southampton 1968, p. 120.

⁴⁹ Or rather sixteenth, as Gauthier thinks. See his remark in *BE* 1998, no. 113. If his view is correct, it may have its consequences for the average age of entrance into the ephebeia. Unfortunately, Gauthier does not make clear on which evidence his view concerning the duration of primary education is based.

ephebeia that normally led young men further into the world of literature and science? I believe it was not. To my knowledge there are only two non-Athenian inscriptions that refer to ephebes regularly taking lessons in literature. In Priene the ephebes were led by a man who was their teacher in φιλολογία. This ‘training of the mind towards arête’ is contrasted with their sports training, which is meant to firm their bodies⁵⁰. Similarly, in Eretria the Homeric philologist Dionysios, son of Philotas, taught the ephebes, the *paides* and all those who were well-disposed towards *paideia*⁵¹. During another gymnasiarch’s rule, the three groups received lessons in rhetoric⁵². The common feature in these cases is that the teachers were appointed by benefactors: the lessons in literature and rhetoric were provided as a result of a gymnasiarch’s personal initiative⁵³. Providing for these teachers was apparently not part of a gymnasiarch’s normal duty. A third inscription that refers to intellectual education shows ephebes honouring a teacher in geometry. In doing so, they were joined by the *paides* and *neoi*, and by οἱ παιδευταί, the other teachers⁵⁴. This inscription seems to be the only evidence for ephebes being educated in mathematics. The assertion that ephebes were also following courses in other sciences cannot be substantiated. Marrou stated that courses in medicine were taught to the ephebes of the city of Histria (Istros) on the shores of the Black Sea. However, the inscription in question does not mention ephebes as part of the audience of these public lectures⁵⁵. Since no other inscriptions clearly indicate ephebes taking courses in medicine, there are no grounds for presenting medicine as part of the programme of the ephebeia⁵⁶.

⁵⁰ *I. Priene*, no. 112, l. 73-74. After 84 BC.

⁵¹ *IG XII 9*, no. 235, l. 9-12. First century BC.

⁵² *IG XII 9*, no. 234, l. 8-12. Eretria, first century BC.

⁵³ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου in *IG XII 9*, no. 235, l. 10. Since *I. Priene*, no. 112 is a decree honouring Zosimos for his gifts as a benefactor, it is clear that he must have paid for the teacher in philology as well.

⁵⁴ Published in J. KRAUSS, *Die Inschriften von Sestos (IGSK*, vol. 19), Bonn 1980, no. 5. The inscription does not specify who οἱ παιδευταί were. They may have been teachers in other intellectual disciplines, but also in sporting activities.

⁵⁵ See H.-I. MARROU, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 281-282. The inscription is published by E. POPESCU, *Studii si cercetari di istorie veche* 7 (1956), p. 346-348 (dated between 200 and 150 BC).

⁵⁶ Marrou’s references to inscriptions from other cities, in which medicine would have been part of the education programme, do not mention ephebes. These inscriptions bring up public lectures only in a general way. See: *SEG III* (1927), no. 416 (Elatea) en S. ŞAHİN, *Die Inschriften von Perge I: Vorrömische Zeit, frühe und hohe Kaiserzeit (IGSK*, vol. 54.1), Bonn 1999, no. 12.

All in all, only three inscriptions show that ephebes received courses in literature and science. That is a meagre result when compared to the large number of inscriptions relating to sporting activities. The situation is not very different in the field of music⁵⁷. As most of the epigraphic record concerning sporting activities consists of inscriptions honouring the victors of various contests, it might be argued that the scantiness of the evidence for intellectual training simply reflects the fact that there were fewer competitions in non-physical disciplines. However, as the existence of contests in moral skills shows⁵⁸, competitions were not restricted to sports. Moreover, in the case of *paides* there is clear evidence of contests in literary and musical disciplines — their winners were sometimes honoured on the same inscriptions as those of the sporting competitions⁵⁹.

The fairly limited number of inscriptions on intellectual education may therefore be taken as an indication that ephebes who received an education in literature and science actually received it elsewhere, outside the structure of the ephebeia; private education most probably filled the gap. Intellectual curiosity will have been stimulated by the presence of libraries attached to the gymnasium⁶⁰. Additionally, young men could attend lectures held by teachers who travelled around to teach anyone who was interested and willing to pay. When these lectures were given in the gymnasium, as they often were, some ephebes are likely to have joined the audience. It may even be assumed that some gymnasiarchs, or other euergetai, who were trying hard to become honoured as ‘the most generous ever’, attracted lecturers at their own expense. We should, however, bear in mind that in most cities lectures of this kind were not given on a regular basis. Their availability depended on the chance presence of a philosopher, a historian, a rhetorician, or some

⁵⁷ We do know that ephebes in Athens and Ptolemais participated in music competitions. The inscription that establishes Polythrous’ foundation for the education of the *paides* of Teos prescribes that ephebes share a music teacher with the *paides*. Ziebarth regards this as an example of «praktische fiskalische Sparsamkeit»: as the music teacher was already paid for to teach the *paides*, he might as well give some lessons to the ephebes to fill his time. E. ZIEBARTH, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*, Stuttgart 1914², p. 58. As there are no other inscriptions referring to music lessons, the evidence for regular education in music as a part of the ephebeia is altogether rather meagre.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 161f.

⁵⁹ See among others C. MICHEL, *Recueil d’inscriptions grecques* II, Brussels 1900, no. 913 (Teos) and *Syl³*, no. 959 (Chios).

⁶⁰ As for example in Teos and Pergamon, and on Cos and Rhodes. See E. ZIEBARTH, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 131-132; H.-I. MARROU, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 282 and G.C. PAPACHRISTODOULOU, *Νέα στοιχεία για βιβλιοθήκες στην αρχαία Ρόδο, Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* 11 (1986), p. 265-271 (cf. *SEG* XXXVII [1987], no. 699).

other travelling scholar. In other words, the intellectual education which ephebes received was not part of a fixed curriculum, but was determined by the presence (or absence) of highly mobile individuals⁶¹.

As has been noted, the fact that ephebes practised horse riding has been presented as further proof of the elitist character of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East. Pleket believes that the ephebes not only practised horse riding for its own sake, but also as a means to improve their hunting skills⁶². Accordingly, as horse riding was a regular part of the training received by ephebes, the ephebeia must have been only for the well-to-do. In Athens, where the ephebeia certainly had an elitist character in the Hellenistic era, ephebes did ride horses. In Macedonian Amphipolis horse riding was also part of the ephebeian programme, as we know from the still unpublished ephebarchic law⁶³. But was horse riding also regularly practised by the ephebes of the Hellenistic and Roman cities of Asia Minor, as Pleket thinks; and if this was the case, does this necessarily imply that the ephebeia had an elitist character?⁶⁴ Pleket's thesis rests primarily on the interpretation of a long inscription from Ephesos, set up in honour of Gaius Vibius Salutaris, a Roman knight⁶⁵. According to the inscription, Salutaris dedicated to the ephebes of the city a statue that represented the ἱππικὸν

⁶¹ Cf. S.F. BONNER, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*, London 1977, p. 47. Regarding literary education he assigns a central role to private teaching. As a complement to this private education, «there might also be lectures of visiting scholars, and a gymnasium-library in which to browse». Cf. also P. SCHOLZ, *Elementarunterricht und intellektuelle Bildung im hellenistischen Gymnasium*, and W. AMELING, *Wohltäter im hellenistischen Gymnasium*, both in D. KAH and P. SCHOLZ (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium*, Berlin 2004. Both conclude that the gymnasium should not be regarded as an «Institution des griechischen Geisteslebens».

⁶² H.W. PLEKET, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 170 and *id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 291-293.

⁶³ The most recent information on this text (with photo) can be found in D. LAZARIDIS, *Amphipolis*, Athens 1997, p. 57-58 and fig. 57. Cf. also *SEG XLVII* (1997), no. 873 and K. LAZARIDIS, *Το έργον της αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας κατά το 1984* (1984), p. 22-24.

⁶⁴ I have some doubts as to the direct link that is made between horseriding and elitism. Though it is impossible to possess and maintain a horse without abundant resources, inscriptions from Macedonia make me wonder whether a direct interrelationship between horseriding and elitism can be assumed for the ephebeia as a collective. While the ephebeia in Amphipolis may be regarded as elitist due to the horseriding that was part of its programme, inscriptions from Kalindoia and Stuberra point out 80 to 135 participants a year. These numbers seem quite high if the ephebeia in this region was restricted to the upper classes. Although Amphipolis is not Thessalonica, Kalindoia or Stuberra, and its situation might have been different, the possibility should be considered that horseriding was only practised by *some* ephebes — the richest ones.

⁶⁵ The inscription is published by G.M. ROGERS, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, London / New York 1991, p. 152-171.

τάγμα, i.e. the equestrian group⁶⁶. Pleket seems to interpret this dedication as an expression of the bond felt between youth organisations in the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire⁶⁷. Since the ephebes received a statue of the ἵπικὸν τάγμα, horses would have been one of the characteristic 'attributes' of the ephebes. Building on this idea, he suggests that ephebes spent part of their time riding horses, just like the members of the *collegia iuvenum* that were the Western counterparts of the ephebeia⁶⁸.

In my view, this interpretation fails to take into account the context of the dedication of this statue. In the Salutaris inscription there are no indications that the statue was given in order to express feelings of partnership between the *collegia iuvenum* and the ephebeia. It was not given by any of those 'sister institutions', but by an individual Roman knight. In so far as it is possible to see a parallel between *collegia iuvenum* and ephebeia, the parallel depends on a connection supposedly made by Salutaris himself: Salutaris would have chosen to present the ephebes with this statue because they reminded him of the horse riding Roman *iuvenes*, who belonged to the equestrian order⁶⁹. The connection thus established between the Roman *ordo equester*, the *iuvenes*, the ephebes and horse riding seems rather loose. It is surely an insufficient basis for concluding that the ephebes practised horse riding.

Most importantly, the fact that Salutaris chose to give the ephebes a statue of the *ordo equester* does not necessarily imply that they rode on horseback themselves. In fact, it seems more plausible that he tried to use his gift for subtle self-promotion, for, as the inscription indicates, Salutaris was himself an ἀνὴρ ἵπικῆς τά[ξε]ος, a member of the *ordo equester* (lines 14-15). Furthermore, the ephebes who received the statue that represented the *ordo equester* were not expected to set it up in their

⁶⁶ G.M. ROGERS, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 160, l. 170.

⁶⁷ H.W. PLEKET, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 292-293. In this interpretation he seems to follow an article by J. KEIL, *Die Iuventus von Virunum und die ephesische Ephebie, Festschrift für Rudolf Egger II. Beiträge zur älteren Europäischen Kulturgeschichte*, Klagenfurt 1953, p. 261-264. Keil speaks of a «Verwandschaft» that was recognized by both sides.

⁶⁸ For information on *iuvenes*, cf. M. JACZYŃSKA, *Les associations de la jeunesse romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Wrocław 1978; D. LADAGE, *Collegia iuvenum — Ausbildung einer municipalen Elite?*, *Chiron* 9 (1979), p. 319-346; P. GINESTET, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident romain*, Brussels 1991 and S. RANDAZZO, *Collegia Iuvenum — ossezioni in margine a D. 48.19.28.3, SDHI* 66 (2000), p. 201-222. It is interesting to note that Ladage, Ginestet and Randazzo all believe that the *iuvenes* associations were not aristocratic, but of mixed character.

⁶⁹ As is stated by J. KEIL, *art. cit.* (n. 67), p. 264.

headquarters in the gymnasium: it belonged to a group of 31 golden and silver statues which were to be carried through the city centre during processions. These processions accompanied many games, festivals, assemblies and other special occasions — events that occurred together so often that there must have been a procession every other week. The processions were meant to familiarise the participants and the audience with the history of the city, and simultaneously to promote Salutaris' φιλοτιμία or distinction, as Rogers has shown⁷⁰. All of the statues carried through the town were donated by Salutaris. Nine of them were dedicated to the city-goddess Artemis; the others were given a double consecration, both to Artemis and an Ephesian (or Roman) institution or a section of the Ephesian population. These groups of recipients included, for instance, the Senate, the Βουλή, the Γερουσία and various φυλαί. The Ephesian ephebes were also represented by a statue: an εἰκόνα ἐφηβείας (lines 28-31). Given this arrangement, it would contravene the pattern of the dedications if the statue of the *ordo equester* were again to symbolise the ephebeia. The ephebeia, in contrast to all other institutions and groups, would then have received *two* statues. That would surely have given the ephebes improper preferential treatment compared to the members of the Senate and other highly respected members of the community. For this reason alone, the statue of the *ordo equester* cannot be used to support the theory that riding on horseback was part of the curriculum of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East.

Apart from this inscription, three other texts could possibly indicate that ephebes were horsemen. But on further examination none of them emerges as convincing evidence. A list of victors in games for ephebes refers to a contest denoted by the term ἵππιος, but this turns out to be a foot-race rather than a horse-race⁷¹. In Ilion, there was a race on horseback, but this was presumably a race in which all the inhabitants of the city could take part⁷². Finally, Xenophon of Ephesos refers to a proces-

⁷⁰ G.M. ROGERS, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 112 and 173.

⁷¹ The text involved is *IG* XII 9, no. 952 from second-century Chalcis. Pleket initially read it as a horse-race, but in a footnote he acknowledged that it must be a foot-race, as Marrou had already said. See H.W. PLEKET, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 296, n. 63 and H.-I. MARROU, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 186.

⁷² *SEG* XLI (1991), no. 1052; published and commented on as well by F. PIEJKO, *Seleucus II and Ilium*, *C&M* 42 (1991), p. 127-138, no. 5. In Ilion there were two festivals honouring king Seleukos II: one held annually, organized by the gymnasiarch, and one held every five years as an extra event, organized by 'ἡμᾶς', «us». These are the people who, according to the inscription, showed their respect to the king in several other ways, and probably were the inhabitants of Ilion. Only their festival included a horse race, as can be deduced from the inscription.

sion in his home town, in which ephebes took part. The participants were accompanied by dogs and horses, and carried hunting equipment. Although these attributes might be linked to the ephebes, I prefer to associate them with Artemis, the hunting goddess and patroness of the city in whose honour this procession was held⁷³.

As I hope to have shown in this section, the traditional view that intellectual education was a characteristic feature of the ephebeia in the cities of the Greek East cannot be upheld by convincing evidence. Nor is there any epigraphical data that adequately supports the view that riding on horseback was a regular part of the curriculum of the ephebeia. Ephebes were not forced to spend large amounts of money on horses. Likewise, lack of intellectual skills and knowledge is unlikely to have prevented boys from participating in the ephebeia, as has often been assumed. Preliminary training would not have been as necessary for participating in the sports programme, which must have constituted the core of the ephebeia⁷⁴. There are therefore no firm grounds for holding that the contents of the curriculum of the ephebeia served to exclude many or most young men from participation.

THE EPHEBEIA AND CITY LIFE: SOCIAL EDUCATION

The ephebeia was about more than just sports. A long unnoticed aspect has recently been brought to the fore by Crowther⁷⁵. He shows that during the ephebeia considerable attention was paid to the development or improvement of what we would call 'moral' or 'social' skills. Various inscriptions list the names of ephebes who had won contests in «diligence» (φιλοπονία), in «good habit of body» (εὐεξία) and/or in «discipline» or «orderly behaviour» (εὐταξία). The gymnasiarchic law of Beroia shows that the assignment of these prizes was arranged by an elab-

⁷³ Xenophon Ephesiacus, *op. cit.* (n. 13), I-II. Cf. J. KEIL, *art. cit.* (n. 67), p. 263, who does not regard this text as convincing evidence for horse riding by ephebes either.

⁷⁴ On the importance of sports in the ephebeia of the cities of the Greek East, cf. O. VAN NIJF, *Athletics, Festivals and Identity in the Roman East*, *PCPhS* 45 (1999-2000), p. 176-200. He regards sports (or athletics) rather than literary and/or rhetoric education (παιδεία) as «an alternative passport to Greek identity».

⁷⁵ N.B. CROWTHER, *Euexia, Eutaxia and Philoponia: Three Contests of the Greek Gymnasium*, *ZPE* 85 (1991), p. 301-304, lists several inscriptions that contain these contests. Cf. S.D. LAMBERT, *ZPE* 141 (2002), p. 122-123 (only on *eutaxia*).

orate procedure⁷⁶. A jury had to judge which ephebe was best in εὐεξία on the day of the Hermaia; they were appointed after swearing that they would pass their judgement fairly and without bias. Winners in φιλοπονία and εὐταξία were chosen after the behaviour of the ephebes had been monitored for a full year.

Even the teachers themselves were assessed. In Priene they had to compete with their colleagues in the fields of philology and physical strength⁷⁷. Here, actual results were of minor importance. The main objective of these contests was to make them demonstrate their φιλοπονία, as the prize awarded to the winning teachers reveals: the gymnasiarch gave them τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλοπονίας ἔπαθλον, the prize on account of diligence. Stimulating *philoponia* did not happen to be just this gymnasiarch's hobby-horse: the contests for the teachers were established by law (ἐννόμους, l. 30). There is even a decree, passed by the Βουλή and the Δῆμος of Ephesos, in which a gymnasiarch is praised because he had encouraged young men — in this case *neoi* — to develop their εὐανδρεία («fitness») and φιλοπονία both physically and mentally. The honour awarded to this gymnasiarch by the city council demonstrates how important these values were at city level — and, simultaneously, how the ephebeia was an institution of social education based on widely accepted rules.

The decree of the Βουλή and the Δῆμος also reminds us that the ephebeia should not be regarded as an isolated educational institute. Ephebes were already participating in public life to a considerable extent. Inscriptions show that ephebes not only made private or collective sacrifices, but were also involved in public cult ceremonies. They took part in offerings and banquets, and walked along with city magistrates and religious officials in processions held in honour of the gods⁷⁸. Cult activities of this kind could take up a considerable amount of an ephebe's time: the incomplete school calendar found on Cos enumerates twelve festivals, offerings and/or processions, all taking place within the space of eight weeks⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ See P. GAUTHIER and M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 22, l. 47-57.

⁷⁷ *I. Priene*, no. 113, l. 26-31.

⁷⁸ Cf. recently S. ANEZIRI and D. DAMASKOS, *Städtische Kulte im hellenistischen Gymnasion*, in D. KAH and P. SCHOLZ (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Berlin 2004, p. 247-271 on public cult ceremonies in which members of the gymnasion (including ephebes) took part.

⁷⁹ *Syll*³, no. 1028 (2nd century BC). Admittedly, the school calendar does not refer to any adult citizens taking part in these religious activities. But judging from another Coan inscription (1st century BC), both adult citizens and ephebes participated in the ceremony

When ephebes benefited from the generous gifts of a benefactor, either because he had invested his money directly into the ephebeia, or because he had given it to the gymnasium (e.g. by providing oil), they were sometimes involved in paying tribute to this euergetes. The honours awarded by the ephebes and the *neoi* could consist of a statue in the gymnasium or a crown⁸⁰. In these cases the ceremonies in question are likely to have been held within the boundaries of the gymnasium, and therefore to have had a limited impact on city life.

However, awarding honour and respect to a Hellenistic king, a Roman emperor, or a local benefactor was often a fairly public event. Cities paid homage to these euergetai by organising processions, hymns sung in crowded theatres, and even public funerals. In these public ceremonies ephebes could also play a part. The school calendar from Cos shows how ephebes participated in a range of cult ceremonies for the gods, but also mentions three processions in honour of Hellenistic kings⁸¹. Within the eight weeks covered by the calendar, there were processions for the kings Ptolemaios, Eumenes and Attalos. Since the school calendar generally indicates when an activity was meant for a specific group of children, in these cases its lack of specification suggests that the processions were part of the programme for all age groups. Although the inscription does not explicitly state that the ceremonies were public, we may safely assume that they were, since they consisted of processions: it would hardly be conceivable that a procession would confine itself to a walk through the gymnasium. Besides, in several processions a combination of members of the gymnasium, magistrates, and citizens paraded through the city centre in order to honour 'ordinary' euergetai⁸². Therefore we may also expect processions in the honour of kings to be a city rather than a gymnasium event. When the benefactor Lucius Vacceius Labeo died, ephebes carried him to his grave at Kyme (Aiolis), passing through the agora of the town, where the herald of the city crowned him with gold⁸³. This role

for Zeus, one of the ceremonies mentioned on the school calendar. See M. SEGRE, *Inscrizioni di Cos*. Vol. 1: *Testo* and Vol. 2: *Tavole*, Rome 1993, no. ED 215, l. 33-38. Cf. SEG XLIII (1993), no. 549.

⁸⁰ E.g. the statues for an unknown euergetes in Messene: SEG XLVII (1997), no. 400 (1st century BC) and for Diodorus Paspas in Pergamon: A. CHANKOWSKI, *BCH* 122 (1998), p. 159-199, nos. 1 and 6.

⁸¹ Cf. note 79.

⁸² E.g. IGR IV, no. 159 (Kyzikos) (cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *BE* 1964, p. 180-181); IGR IV, no. 292, l. 42-47 (Pergamon); *I. Priene*, no. 108, l. 367-375.

⁸³ H. ENGELMANN, *Die Inschriften von Kyme (IGSK, vol. 5)*, Bonn 1976, no. 19.

had been assigned to them by the Βουλή and Δῆμος; the ephebes (or their leaders) played no part in the decision. In this case, ephebes were not one of many groups making up a large crowd; together with the *neoi*, they formed the entire procession. Their centrality in this honorary ceremony was not unique: ephebes were more often assigned a special role in these kinds of honorary ceremonies. Sometimes they shared it with other members of the gymnasium and the cities' magistrates⁸⁴.

The ephebes' attachment to civic life is shown even more clearly by the fact that they took part in honouring men who had not done anything for them in particular. Such was the case in Ephesos: here the procession of the statues referred to in the Salutaris inscription was held in order to honour both Artemis and Salutaris, and simultaneously to bring to the fore the glorious past of the city⁸⁵. When the religious officials arrived at the city gates, the ephebes had to take over the 31 statues and carry these through the city centre. They fulfilled this task at least 27 times a year. In other cases, we may also suspect that ephebes were selected to honour prominent men to whom their cities wanted to pay great respect, rather than that they simply rewarded the men who had presented great contributions to their education. Thus the ephebes singing a hymn to the emperor Hadrian when he visited the city of Ephesos performed their song of honour in a city-theatre, right in front of the emperor himself, who was — according to the inscription — listening with interest, and (as we may imagine) in front of a large crowd⁸⁶.

The important role of the ephebes in rites like these, which were of high symbolic value to the city, illustrates to what extent ephebes could be exposed to, and take part in public life. Apparently, ephebes performed tasks in which they almost acted as symbols of their city. As to the question why ephebes (and sometimes other members of the gymnasium as well) were the ones selected to perform these roles, we might find an answer in the central role of the gymnasium in the community life of the cities of the Greek East⁸⁷. Since ephebes, together with *paides* and *neoi*,

⁸⁴ Cf. the inscriptions on the honours given to Athenaios of Kolophon Nova and Thrasyboulos of Priene. Athenaios: M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II, Paris 1938, no. 5, p. 51-61. Thrasyboulos: *I. Priene*, no. 104.

⁸⁵ Cf. p. 160.

⁸⁶ Inscription published by J. KEIL, *AAWW* 88 (1951), p. 335, no. 3.

⁸⁷ Cf. P. GAUTHIER, *Notes sur le rôle du gymnase dans les cités hellénistiques*, in M. WÖRRLE and P. ZANKER (eds.), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, München 1995, p. 1-11.

spent time in the gymnasium every day, where they were taught by their instructors, they constituted the core of the gymnasium. When ephebes, either separately or together with *paides* or *neoi* and gymnasiarchs, performed roles in public life, spectators will have regarded them as delegates of the gymnasium, and thereby as representatives of an important part of civic life.

CONCLUSION

For the ephebes, their participation in these diverse public ceremonies in honour of gods, benefactors and kings, resulted to a certain extent in involvement in civic life. Apart from this, their education during the ephebeia was focused on the mastering of diverse sports and the development of moral values, rather than on intellectual training. Through their membership of the ephebeia, youngsters in the cities of the Greek East were able to acquire skills in fields of crucial importance: both physical health and competitiveness, and values like φιλοπονία, εὐεξία and εὐταξία were highly respected accomplishments in Greek society. Arguments adduced to support the thesis that only the sons of the aristocracy participated in the ephebeia can be refuted: its content did not exclude those without preliminary intellectual education; ownership of a horse was not a necessity and length of membership was variable. There was no inclination to lower the age of entrance substantially in order to meet the needs of an elite circle, and the considerable numbers of ephebes found on several membership lists point towards the inclusion of a broader group of youngsters.

There may well have been an additional reason for admitting the sons of non-aristocratic citizens to the ephebeia⁸⁸. By integrating its members with the adult civic community and by training those skills that were important for civic life, the ephebeia seems to have aimed at moulding

⁸⁸ H.-J. GEHRKE, *Eine Bilanz. Die Entwicklung des Gymnasiums zur Institution der Sozialisierung in der Polis*, in D. KAH and P. SCHOLZ (eds.) *Das hellenistische Gymnasium*, Berlin 2004, p. 413-419, puts the question whether the gymnasium was an institution for «Jugendbildung» or for the formation of elites. Although he does not provide an answer to this question, and considers it an unresolved problem, he does emphasize that the gymnasium was a crucial element in socialization, creating social distinctions within the polis society. According to Gehrke, being educated in the gymnasium above all indicated that someone belonged to the polis, and to the social class of the free citizens.

boys aged between fourteen and eighteen into citizens. Although aristocratic families dominated the social and political scene of the cities in the Greek East, the vigorous community life of these cities clearly rested on the participation of a much larger group of citizens. To include the sons of those citizens would be a sensible choice: after all, these young men were eventually to contribute to community life as well.

Their inclusion did not preclude the formation of a social hierarchy within the ephebeia. Not only did some of the youngsters continue their membership longer than others, some of them also distinguished themselves by the fulfillment of special (honorary) tasks, or by acting, probably *in nomine*, as *euergets*⁸⁹. The replication of social stratification thereby created characterizes the ephebeia as an institution that fitted *par excellence* into the structure of the aristocratic cities of the Greek East.

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⁸⁹ Cf. e.g. W. BLÜMEL, *Die Inschriften von Knidos I* (IGSK, vol. 41), Bonn 1992, no. 89. Dated to 50-100 AD. The ephebe Servius Sulpicius Apollonios is honoured by his city «for his excellence and his goodwill to the people of the Knidians»: Ὁ δᾶμος [ἐ]τείμασεν Σέρουιον Σουλπίκιον Σερούιου Σουλπικίου Γοργία υἱὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐφηβέοντα ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς ποτὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Κνιδίων θεοῖς.

APOLLON MÉDECIN EN ÉTRURIE

Abstract: L'abondance d'ex-voto anatomiques de terre cuite, particulièrement d'ex-voto sexuels, dans les dépôts votifs hellénistiques d'Etrurie a souvent été comprise comme la conséquence du succès du culte d'Esculape à Rome. Pourtant, les attestations du culte de ce dieu sont si rares en Etrurie que cette explication paraît insuffisante pour cette zone géographique. Un autre dieu, Apollon, dont le culte était très populaire en Etrurie et qui possédait des compétences en médecine, pourrait justifier la floraison de corps démembrés de terre cuite en Etrurie.

Depuis le début des années 1980, les archéologues et les historiens ont découvert l'intérêt d'un 'petit' matériel jusque-là souvent négligé par les antiquisants à cause de son caractère répétitif et de sa qualité médiocre¹. Pots, lampes et statuettes qu'on accusait d'encombrer les réserves des musées sont devenus des objets de prix aux yeux des spécialistes de l'antiquité: ils sont désormais considérés comme une source essentielle dans la constitution d'une micro-histoire ou d'une histoire générale des mentalités. Dans le domaine des religions antiques, ce sont les ex-voto qui ont suscité le plus d'attention récemment². En Étrurie particulièrement, à partir du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. et jusqu'au 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C., on les trouve en profusion, dans les temples ou dans des dépôts situés à l'extérieur des temples, sous forme de parties du corps, voire d'organes sexuels. La signification de cette vogue de corps démembrés a souvent été mise sur le compte de la diffusion de préoccupations médicales liées au culte d'Esculape propagé

¹ La lecture des catalogues d'ex-voto provoque d'ailleurs l'agacement de M. CRISTOFANI, *Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale*. IV. *Gli ex voto di Nemi*, *Prospettiva* 29 (1982), p. 78, qui éprouve un sentiment de lassitude («tedio»).

² Pour l'Antiquité en général, cf. G. BAGGIERI et M.L. RINALDI VELOCCIA (éd.), *L'antica anatomica nell'arte dei donaria. Catalogo della mostra Speranza e sofferenza nei votivi anatomici dell'Antichità*, Roma 1996.

Pour la Grèce, cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *Gifts for the Gods*, in H.S. VERSNEL, *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, Leiden 1981, p. 65-151; ID., *Votive and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries*, in *Le Sanctuaire grec (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, XXXVII)*, Genève 1992, p. 247-284; B. FORSÉN, *Griechische Gliederweihungen. Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer Typologie und ihrer religions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Helsinki 1996; G. SCHÖRNER, *Votive im römischen Griechenland. Untersuchungen zur späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2003.

Pour l'Italie, cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *Terracotte votive dal Tevere (Studi miscellanei, 25)*, Rome 1980; P. PENSABENE, *Luoghi di culto, depositi votivi e loro significato*, in *Roma repubblicana fra il 509 e il 270 a.C.*, Rome 1982, p. 77-

depuis Rome³. Nous croyons au contraire que le culte d'Esculape a connu peu de succès en Etrurie à cause de la concurrence d'un culte ancien et apprécié d'un Apollon à vocation médicale.

La thèse d'une diffusion des ex-voto anatomiques grâce au succès du culte d'Esculape doit beaucoup aux historiens de la médecine. La soudaine abondance des ex-voto anatomiques dans la zone étrusco-latiale, à partir du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., a en effet d'abord été étudiée d'un point de vue médical. Les historiens de la médecine estimaient en effet que les ex-voto leur permettaient d'apprécier un niveau de connaissances des Étrusques en anatomie jugé supérieur à celui des Romains à la même époque⁴. Aussi, quand historiens et archéologues ont cherché à com-

92; O. DE CAZANOVE, *Ex-voto de l'Italie républicaine: sur quelques aspects de leur mise au rebut*, in *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapports avec le monde méditerranéen* [Actes du colloque de St-Riquier (8 au 11 novembre 1990)], Paris 1991, p. 203-214; ID., *Sanctuaires et ex-voto salutaires de l'Italie romaine*, in Chr. LANDES (éd.), *Dieux guérisseurs en Gaule romaine*, Lattes 1992, p. 107-115; O. DE CAZANOVE, *La plastique de terre cuite, un indicateur des lieux de culte (?)*, *L'exemple de la Lucanie*, CCG 8 (1997), p. 151-169; *Religio. Santuari ed ex voto nel Lazio meridionale* [Atti della giornata di studio], Terracine, 2004; *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dal periodo arcaico a quello tardo-repubblicano* [Atti del convegno (Perugia 2000)], 2005.

Pour l'Étrurie, cf. I. EDLUND, *Mens sana in corpore sano: Healing Cults as Political Factor in Etruscan Religion*, in T. LINDERS et G. NORDQUIST (éd.), *Gifts to the Gods* [Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985], Uppsala 1987, p. 51-56; F. FABBRI, *Un ex-voto fittile da Populonia e le attestazioni dei votivi anatomici di età repubblicana nell'Etruria settentrionale*, *Rassegna di archeologia* 12 (1994-1995), p. 577-589; Ph. CHARLIER, *Nouvelles hypothèses concernant la représentation des utérus dans les ex-voto étrusco-romains*, *Anatomie et Histoire de l'Art*, Ocnus 8 (2000), p. 33-46; M. SÖDERLIND, *Romanization and the Use of Votive Offerings in the Eastern Ager Vulcentis*, *Opuscula Romana* 25-26 (2000-2001), p. 89-102; S. DUCATÉ-PAARMANN, *Un couple votif en terre cuite provenant de la région de Santa Severa (province de Rome)*, *Latomus* 59 (2000), p. 36-40; M. SÖDERLIND, *Late Etruscan Votive Heads from Tessennano. Production, Distribution, Sociohistorical Context*, Rome 2002; S. DUCATÉ-PAARMANN, *Deux femmes à l'enfant. Étude d'une classe d'offrandes étrusco-latiales en terre cuite*, *MEFRA* 115 (2003), p. 837-865; EAD., *Contribution à l'étude des cultes de Menerva courotrophe en Étrurie méridionale*, in P. DEFOSSE (éd.), *Hommages à Carl Deroux. IV. Archéologie et Histoire de l'Art, Religion*, Bruxelles 2003, p. 351-357; EAD., *Images de la femme à l'enfant. Offrandes et cultes des divinités courotrophes dans les sanctuaires d'Italie centrale et méridionale (Sicile, Grande Grèce, Campanie, Étrurie, Latium). Fin du VII^{ème} siècle-fin II^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.*, thèse Paris IV, novembre 2003.

³ Cf. A. COMELLA, *Riflessi del culto di Asclepio sulla religiosità popolare etrusco-laziale e campana di epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana*, *AFLPer* 20, n.s. 6 (1982-1983), p. 215-244, et O. DE CAZANOVE, *I destinatari dell'iscrizione di Tiriolo e la questione del campo d'applicazione del senatoconsulto De Bacchanalibus*, *Athenaeum* n.s. 88 (2000), p. 68.

⁴ Cf. L. SAMBON, *Donaria of Medical Interest in the Oppenheimer Collection*, *British Medical Journal* 2 (1895), p. 146-150, 216-219; L. STIEDA, *Anatomisches über alt-italische Weihgeschenke*, *Anatomische Hefte*, 1. Abteilung 16, Hft 50 (1901), p. 1-83; G. ALEXANDER, *Zur Kenntnis der etruskischen Weihgeschenke*, *ibid.*, 1. Abteilung 30, Heft

prendre les raisons d'une diffusion subite des ex-voto en Italie, ils se sont donc naturellement tournés vers la thèse d'une influence du culte du dieu-médecin le plus célèbre de l'Antiquité.

Asklépios a en effet connu un succès très rapide en Grèce, à la fin du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., d'abord en Thessalie, puis très vite à Athènes et dans la Grèce tout entière, en raison des talents de guérisseur du héros : selon le mythe, Asklépios, à qui le centaure Chiron aurait appris la médecine⁵, aurait guéri Héraklès blessé lors de la bataille contre Hippocoon, roi de Sparte⁶. Dans les sanctuaires grecs consacrés au moins en partie au culte d'Asklépios, les guérisons miraculeuses font l'objet de descriptions si détaillées⁷ que, selon la légende, Hippocrate aurait tiré son savoir de la lecture des récits des guérisons inscrits sur les ex-voto du temple d'Asklépios à Cos⁸. Beaucoup de ces objets votifs reproduisent d'ailleurs des parties du corps et témoignent ainsi des vertus thérapeutiques prêtées au dieu ; c'est le cas dans les *asklepieia* d'Athènes⁹, de Corinthe¹⁰, du Pirée¹¹, de Cos¹², de Délos¹³, de Paros¹⁴ et de Melos¹⁵. Les

90 (1905), p. 155-198; M. TABANELLI, *Gli ex-voto poliviscerali etruschi e romani*, Florence, 1962; ID., *La medicina nel mondo degli Etruschi*, Florence 1963; P. DECOUFLÉ, *La notion d'ex-voto anatomique chez les Etrusco-romains. Analyse et synthèse*, Bruxelles 1964.

⁵ Sur cette version de la naissance d'Asklépios, cf. Pind., *Pyth.*, III 43-44; Apollod. III 10.3.

⁶ Cf. PAUS. III 19.7.

⁷ Cf. IG IV² I 121 à 124. Voir la traduction et le commentaire de R. HERZOG, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus (Philologus Supplementband, 22, Heft 3)*, 1931; L. LiDONNICI, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscription: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Atlanta 1995.

⁸ Cf. Plin., *N.H.* XXIX 2; Strab. XIV 19.

⁹ Cf. P. GIRARD, *L'Asclepieion d'Athènes d'après de récentes découvertes*, Paris 1881, p. 116; A. KÖRTE, *Bezirk eines Heilgottes*, *MDAIA* 18 (1893), p. 241-243, fig. 3-5; S.B. ALESHIRE, *The Athenian Asklepieion: the People, their Dedications and the Inventories*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 41-42; S.B. ALESHIRE, *Asklepios at Athens. Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults*, Amsterdam 1991, p. 41-46; B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n. 1.1. à 1.49.

¹⁰ À Corinthe, le sanctuaire d'Asklépios abrite sept dépôts votifs renfermant des ex-voto anatomiques et des matériels céramiques. Cf. F.J. DE WAELE, *The Sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth*, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 444-445; C. ROEBUCK, *Corinth, 14: The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton 1951, p. 114-128, pl. 33-46; M. LANG, *Cure and Cult in Ancient Corinth. A Guide to the Asklepieion*, Princeton 1977, p. 15-27; A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 221-222.

¹¹ Cf. B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n. 10.1 et 10.2.

¹² Cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 129, n. 30.1 à 3; B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.*, n. 26.1 à 3.

¹³ Cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *art. cit.*, p. 127, n. 23.1; B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.*, n. 28.1.

¹⁴ Cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *art. cit.*, p. 133, n. 31.1, 31.3, 31.4; B. FORSÉN et E. SIRONEN, *Parische Glieder Weihungen*, *ZPE* 87 (1991), p. 176, n° 1; p. 177, n° 3 et 4; B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.*, n. 29.1 à 29.3.

¹⁵ Cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *art. cit.*, p. 128-129, n. 29.1 et 2; B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.*, n. 33.1 et 2.

ressemblances avec ceux d'Étrurie peuvent paraître frappantes: à Corinthe, par exemple¹⁶, les ex-voto, datés du dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle au dernier quart du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., sont parfois fabriqués en terre cuite et peints en rouge, quand ils représentent des membres de corps masculins, et en blanc pour des membres de corps féminins.

Grâce à ses liens privilégiés avec la Grèce, l'Étrurie pourrait avoir été touchée par le succès du culte d'Esculape, avant son introduction officielle à Rome. L'existence d'objets étrusques mentionnant ou représentant Asklépios sont parfois compris comme des indices de l'existence de ce culte. Un vase trouvé dans les environs de Chiusi, dédié à Asklépios¹⁷, a été daté d'avant la vague de diffusion des ex-voto anatomiques en Étrurie, soit de la fin du 6^{ème} ou du début du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹⁸, soit au 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹⁹, en tout cas d'avant la fondation d'un temple d'Esculape à Rome²⁰. Le théonyme *Aisclapi* est en effet rapproché des formes *Aisklapios*²¹ et *Aisklapius*²² trouvées sur des inscriptions d'Épidaure du début du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. au plus tard. À Bologne, près du palais de justice, soit en position suburbaine, une statuette d'offrant du troisième quart du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. porte une dédicace en grec à Asklépios²³. Après la fondation du temple d'Asklépios à Rome, le culte

¹⁶ Nous laissons de côté les ex-voto anatomiques en terre cuite de Cos dont l'authenticité paraît douteuse. Cf. F. VAN STRATEN, *art. cit.*, p. 129-132.

¹⁷ *CIL* I² 440 = *CIL* XI 6708, 2 = A. ERNOUT, *Recueil de textes latins archaïques*, Paris 1957, n° 100 = *ILLRP* 40: *Aisclapi pococolom*.

¹⁸ Cf. M. BESNIER, *L'île Tibérine dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1902, p. 149-150.

¹⁹ Cf. A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 234-235.

²⁰ L'hypothèse de J.-P. MOREL, in *Roma medio-republicana. Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C.*, Rome 1973, p. 57-58, n. 13 (avec dessin), datant l'inscription de quelques années après la fondation du temple d'Esculape sur l'île Tibérine, n'a pas été suivie. Pour l'auteur, le type de *poculum* utilisé remonte au premier tiers du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. environ mais, pour lui, le *poculum* de Chiusi en particulier daterait d'un peu après l'introduction du culte d'Esculape à Rome mais il ne fournit pas d'argument pour cette datation.

²¹ *IG* IV 1202; *IG* IV² 1, 136.

²² *IG* IV 1203; *IG* IV² 1, 151.

²³ Cf. G. SUSINI, *Le iscrizioni greche di Bologna*, *Atti Mem. Dep. Storia patria Romagna*, n.s. 10 (1958-1959), p. 67-91 [= *Bononia / Bologna. Scritti di Giancarlo Susini*, Bologne 2001, p. 173-188, spéc. p. 174-176, n° 1]; *id.*, *IG*, XIV, 2282: *Kaphisodoros a Felsina?*, *Epigraphica* 47 (1985), p. 131-133 [= *Bononia / Bologna. Scritti di Giancarlo Susini*, p. 189-190]; M. CRISTOFANI, *Una dedica ad Asclepio da Felsina e i culti salutari in Etruria settentrionale*, *ANSP*, s. 3, 15/1 (1985), p. 1-5, tav. I-III; M. MIARI, *Stipi votive dell'Etruria padana (Corpus delle stipi votive, 11)*, Rome 2000, p. 170-171, n. 1. L'inscription livre le nom du dédicant et du dieu destinataire: Καφισοδορος / Αισχλαβιοι.

d'Esculape se serait poursuivi en Étrurie jusqu'à l'époque impériale. Un miroir étrusque de Bolsena du 3^{ème} ou du début du 2^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.²⁴, figurant Asklépios en jeune homme soignant la blessure de Prométhée, nomme le dieu du nom d'*Esplace* qui, lui aussi, tire son origine d'une forme dorienne *Aisklapios*²⁵. Deux tablettes polyviscérales de Tessennano de la fin du 3^{ème} ou du 2^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.²⁶, présentent une trachée repliée se terminant en tête de serpent, le symbole d'Esculape. Enfin, sous l'Empire, deux inscriptions trouvées dans les thermes de S. Casciano, à Chiusi, attestent l'accomplissement d'un vœu à Esculape²⁷; à Pyrgi, Asclépios *salutaris* est associé à *Pater Pyrgensis*²⁸; à Ferentum, un autel de marbre semble consacré à Esculape²⁹; à Volsinies, une inscription votive est peut-être adressée à Esculape et à Hygie³⁰ et, à Vicarello, où une tête d'Esculape a été trouvée près des bains³¹, une inscription conservée par un manuscrit indique une dédicace adressée conjointement à Apollon, à Silvain, à Asclépios et aux nymphes³².

L'ancienneté du culte d'Esculape en Etrurie pourrait avoir bénéficié de la médiation de l'Italie du Sud, particulièrement des colonies doriennes,

²⁴ Cf. G.M.A. RICHTER, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, n° 817, p. 281-282; J.D. BEAZLEY, *The World of the Etruscan Mirror*, *JHS* 69 (1949), p. 16, pl. Xlc; R. HERBIG, *Die Kranzspiegelgruppe*, *SE* 24 (1955-1956), p. 196, pl. 3; *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. *Esplace*, n° 1, I. Krauskopf.

²⁵ Cf. C. DE SIMONE, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen*, II, Wiesbaden, p. 22, 103, 186, 316, 324 sq.

²⁶ Cf. S. COSTANTINI, *Il deposito votivo del santuario campestre di Tessennano*, Rome 1995, E III 12.

²⁷ Cf. *CIL* XI 2092: *Pro salute / Gai et Pom[po]/niae n(ostrorum) libe[r]oru[m]/m(q)ue eo[rum] / Aesculapi(o) / et Hygiae sacr(um). / Ephastas lib(er)ta / u(otum) l(ibens) s(oluit) m(erito)*; *CIL* XI 2093: *[P]ro salute / Quinti [et] / Triariae n(ostrorum) / liberisque / eorum Aesculapio sal/crum*. Ces deux inscriptions sont répertoriées dans L. ROSS TAYLOR, *Local Cults in Etruria*, Rome 1923, p. 180-181.

²⁸ Cf. *CIL* XI 3710: *Asclepio salutari Aug(usto) sacr(um) / in honore patris Pyrgensis / L(ucius) Volumnius Carus de suo fecit. / Locus attributus ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*. Voir le commentaire de L. ROSS TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, Rome 1923, p. 126-127.

²⁹ Cf. *NS* 1919, p. 281: *[—]us Sex. f(ilius) [—] / [Ara]m Aesculapio / [adiectis or]nament(is) / [uoto su]sc(epto) pro L[—] salute*.

³⁰ Cf. *CIL* XI 2692: *A[scl]epio? / U[gi]ae? / R[?] M[?] / u(otum) s(oluit) / l(ibens) m(erito)*.

³¹ Cf. A.M. COLINI, *La stipe delle acque salutari di Vicarello. Notizie sul complesso della scoperta*, *RPAA* 40 (1967-1968), p. 48, fig. 7-8.

³² Cf. *CIL* XI 3294: *Apollini Silvano / Asclepio nymphis / sacrum. / [L?] Aiatius Phoebus / decurialis decuriae Iuliae / praeconiae consularis / uoto suscepto d(ono) d(edit) con / Phoebiano filio*.

où Asklépios a reçu un culte avant Rome³³. Ainsi, Agrigente possédait un petit temple dorique consacré à Asklépios dès la fin du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.³⁴, Syracuse aurait été dotée d'un temple d'Asklépios sous la tyrannie de Denys l'Ancien³⁵ et Tarente, dont certains habitants figurent parmi les Θεαροδόκοι du sanctuaire d'Asklépios à Epidaure³⁶, abritait des phallus votifs de terre cuite³⁷. Le dieu lui-même, si l'on en croit l'empereur Julien³⁸, serait passé en Italie du Sud: après être apparu à Épidaure, il serait allé à Pergame, en Ionie, puis à Tarente et seulement ensuite à Rome. Par conséquent, le lien entre Épidaure et l'Étrurie se serait effectué par l'entremise de Tarente. Néanmoins, il ne faut pas exclure le rôle de l'Italie centrale dans la diffusion du culte d'Asklépios en Étrurie: d'après Valère Maxime et Aurélius Victor³⁹, le serpent sacré-Esculape serait resté trois jours à Antium dans le temple d'Esculape avant de s'installer sur l'île Tibérine, ce qui signifie qu'Antium aurait abrité avant Rome un temple consacré à Esculape. Or, l'hypothèse est plausible puisque les Antiates étaient des pirates réputés⁴⁰ et que Tite-Live évoque un *fanum Aesculapi* à Antium⁴¹.

³³ Cf. E. SCHMIDT, *Kultübertragungen (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VIII, 2)*, Giessen 1910, p. 45-46; K. LATTE, in *Gnomon* 7 (1931), p. 121, note 2 et ID., *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1960, p. 225.

³⁴ Cf. P. MARCONI, *Agrigento, topografia e arte*, Florence 1929, p. 87-93; M. GARGINI, *Attestazioni del culto di Asclepio in Sicilia*, *SicA* 27 (1994), p. 113-124, spéc. p. 113-115.

³⁵ Cf. Athen. XIV 48.693 (une table d'or) et Polyen. V 2.19.

³⁶ *IG* IV 1504, 44.

³⁷ Cf. G. GIANNELLI, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, Florence 1963, p. 42; E. LIPOLIS, *Alcune considerazioni topografiche su Taranto romana*, *Taras* 1.1 (1981), p. 108; A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 230-231. On restera réservé, en revanche, sur l'anecdote non datée de Jamblique, *Vit. Pyth.*, 126, rapportant qu'un pythagoricien aurait dit à un étranger de ramasser l'or de la ceinture qu'il avait laissée tomber dans le temple d'Asklépios à Crotone et de laisser la ceinture au sol, puisque les lois interdisaient de ramasser ce qui tombait au sol.

³⁸ Cf. *Contra Christian*. 200 B.

³⁹ Cf. Val. Max. I 8.2 et Aur. Vict., *vir. ill.* 22.

⁴⁰ Pour Strab. V 3.5, les Antiates pratiquaient la piraterie aux côtés des Tyrrhéniens, alors que ceux-là étaient déjà sujets des Romains. Pour un commentaire du passage, cf. F. ZEVI, *Prigionieri Troiani*, in M.G. PICOZZI et F. CARINCI (éd.), *Studi in memoria di Lucia Guerrini. Vicino Oriente, Egeo-Grecia, Roma e mondo romano. Tradizione dell'antico e collezionismo di antichità*, Rome 1996, p. 117-118, bibliographie note 15. Sur ce thème, cf. M.L. SCEVOLA, *Pirateria anziata*, in *Studi di Storia Antica in memoria di Luca De Regibus*, Gênes 1969, p. 135-144. P. BRANDIZZI VITUCCI, *Antium. Anzio e Nettuno in epoca romana*, Rome 2000, p. 48-49, déduit du témoignage des sources littéraires l'existence à Anzio d'un sanctuaire double ou d'une zone sacrée avec deux temples, l'un consacré à Apollon et l'autre à Esculape.

⁴¹ Cf. Liv. XLIII 4.6-7.

Enfin, l'influence de Rome, où le dieu-médecin a été adopté à la fin du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., pourrait avoir contribué à la continuité du culte d'Asklépios et à sa transformation en culte médical. En 293 avant J.-C., une épidémie frappant la Ville depuis deux ans, les prêtres auraient lu dans les livres sibyllins que la santé serait retrouvée, en faisant venir Asklépios d'Épidaure. Après l'envoi d'une première ambassade à Delphes pour interroger Apollon, qui recommande de s'adresser à son fils Esculape, de nouveaux ambassadeurs sont dépêchés, en 292 avant J.-C., à Épidaure, où Asklépios annonce qu'il les accompagnera à Rome sous forme d'un serpent. De fait, il monte sur le navire qui doit faire route pour Rome et s'arrête sur l'île Tibérine⁴². Là, sur la pente sud-est de l'île, à l'endroit où se dresse aujourd'hui l'église S. Bartolomeo, les Romains font ensuite ériger un temple qui aurait été conçu comme une imitation des *Asklepieia* grecs⁴³, où les malades venaient attendre une guérison miraculeuse dans des portiques et déposaient des terres cuites votives représentant des membres en terre cuite⁴⁴. Ainsi, même si le matériel se rapportant au temple d'Esculape a été rangé après sa découverte sans considération ni pour son origine ni pour sa valeur, voire parfois tout simplement perdu, on possède quelques informations sur les objets votifs consacrés à Esculape:

⁴² Cf. Liv. XI, *epit.*; Val. Max. I 8.2 et Ov., *met.*, XV 637-640, 659-662; Aur. Vict., *vir. ill.*, 22; Oros. III 22.

⁴³ Cf. LTUR I 1993, s.v. *Aesculapius, aedes, templum (Insula Tiberina)*, p. 21-22 (D. DEGRASSI); M.-J. KARDOS, *Lexique de topographie romaine. Topographie de Rome II*, Paris 2002, s.v. *Aesculapii aedes*, p. 10-11.

⁴⁴ Les dépôts de terres cuites votives anatomiques sont particulièrement nombreux à Corinthe et à Athènes.

À Corinthe, des sept dépôts votifs du sanctuaire d'Asklépios, le plus ancien contient surtout de la céramique corinthienne de la première moitié du 6^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. et une dédicace à Apollon; les autres remontent à la fin du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., quand furent délimitées les limites du sanctuaire et construits le temple et l'autel d'Asklépios, et renferment des ex-voto anatomiques et des matériels céramiques. Cf. A. WALTON, *Asklepios. The Cult of the Greek God of Medicine*, New York 1894; F.J. DE WAELE, *art. cit.* (n. 10), p. 417-451, spéc. p. 444-445; C. ROEBUCK, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 114-128, pl. 33-46; P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 25, note 1; A. COMELLA, *Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana*, MEFRA 93.2 (1981), p. 717-803; A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 215-244, spéc. p. 221-222; B. FORSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 118-120.

Pour les dépôts votifs d'Athènes, cf. P. GIRARD, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 116; S.B. ALESHIRE, *Asklepieion* (n. 9), p. 41-42; ID., *Asklepios* (n. 9), p. 41-46.

LISTE DES OBJETS VOTIFS POUVANT SE RAPPORTER AU TEMPLE
D'ESCU LAPE DE L'ILE TIBÉRINE

<i>Lieux de découverte</i>	<i>Objets votifs découverts</i>
près de la Marmorata	1 main de bronze avec 1 serpent enroulé autour du poignet ⁴⁵
île Tibérine	1 statuette acéphale et sans pieds, 2 jambes avec des pieds et 1 pied ⁴⁶
près du Ponte quattro Capi	1 statuette en fragments 4 pieds de statue 7 fragments de pieds de statue 25 têtes et 12 fragments de têtes 1 fragment de «ventre ouvert avec opération chirurgicale» 3 fragments de bras 3 mains et 17 fragments de mains 8 phallus des jambes et des pieds grandeur nature 1 pied avec une chouette 44 pieds et 150 fragments de pieds 1 tête de statuette ⁴⁷
en aval du Ponte quattro Capi, sur la rive gauche	2 masques en fragments 5 pieds privés de jambe ⁴⁸
près du Ponte Cestius	1 statuette «avec 2 personnages assis» et 1 fragment supérieur de statuette avec 2 personnages 3 fragments supérieurs de statuette de femme 2 statuettes acéphales 2 statuettes assises acéphales 1 statuette de femme drapée sans pied 2 statuettes de femme acéphales 1 statuette de femme sans tête ni pieds 2 têtes de statuettes 1 partie antérieure d'une tête d'une statuette 10 utérus 2 pieds ⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Cf. M. BESNIER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 231.

⁴⁶ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 10.

⁴⁷ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11.

⁴⁸ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

En tout, 500 ou 600 ex-voto de fabrication grossière ont été trouvés entre 1885 et 1887 dans le Tibre où ils étaient sans doute mis au rebut.

Pour appuyer l'idée qu'en consacrant aux dieux des ex-voto représentant des parties du corps, les Etrusques auraient repris une habitude empruntée par Rome aux Grecs, on a invoqué la personnalité de l'un des ambassadeurs envoyés à Épidaure, Q. Ogulnius, tribun de la plèbe en 300 avant J.-C. et édile curule en 296 avant J.-C. avec son frère Cnaeus pour collègue⁵⁰. Les deux hommes, liés aux Fabii, partisans d'une expansion de Rome vers le Centre et le Nord de l'Italie plutôt que vers la Grande-Grèce, portent en effet un gentilice qui ressemble beaucoup à des noms de famille attestés à Chiusi, comme Oculnius⁵¹, Oglinia⁵², Uclnal⁵³, Uclnial⁵⁴ et sont mêlés à tous les événements importants de la vie religieuse de leur époque. Ainsi, pendant leur tribunat, ils font passer la loi par laquelle les plébéiens pouvaient exercer le pontificat et l'augurat romains; pendant leur édilité, ils consacrent à Jupiter, avec le produit des amendes imposées aux usuriers, entre autres offrandes, une statue et un quadriga au Capitole et placent au Forum, près du figuier Ruminal, l'image en bronze de Romulus et de Rémus, allaités par la louve; en 257 avant J.-C., Q. Ogulnius est désigné *dictator Latinarum feriarum caussa*⁵⁵. Si l'on n'ose penser que leur patrie d'origine supposée, où le nom d'Esculape est attesté un siècle à un siècle et demi plus tôt⁵⁶, ait pu influencer le choix de Q. Ogulnius pour ambassadeur à Épidaure, l'entretien de relations entre les Ogulnii et l'Étrurie a pu constituer un facteur de diffusion d'ex-voto en l'honneur d'Esculape.

⁵⁰ Sur Q. Ogulnius, cf. E. PAIS, *Storia di Roma*, 1 2, Turin 1899, p. 577; *RE* XVII (1936), s.v. *Ogulnius*, col. 2064-2066, n° 5; F. MÜNZER, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Stuttgart 1940, p. 83-89; J. GAGÉ, *Apollon romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du «ritus Graecus» à Rome des origines à Auguste*, Paris 1955, p. 102-103; F. CASSOLÀ, *I gruppi politici romani nel III sec. a.C.*, Trieste 1962, p. 149-151; G. HAFNER, *Römische und italische Porträts des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, *MDAIR* 77 (1970), p. 46-71 et *id.*, *Prora*, *SNR* 55 (1976), p. 17-34.

⁵¹ *CIL* XI 2097 (Chiusi); 4901 (Spolète).

⁵² *CIE* 2075 = *CIL* XI 2479.

⁵³ *CI* 1.279. Sur ce gentilice, cf. M. MORANDI TARABELLA, *Prosopographia etrusca* I, *Corpus*, 1. *Etruria meridionale*, Rome 2004, p. 563-564.

⁵⁴ *CI* 1.280.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Fast. cos. Capitolini* XVIIIa.

⁵⁶ Voir *supra*. La coïncidence est notée par D. DEGRASSI, *Il culto di Esculapio in Italia centrale durante il periodo repubblicano*, in F. COARELLI (éd.), *Fregellae. 2: Il santuario di Esculapio*, Rome 1986, p. 146.

L'abondance d'ex-voto anatomiques en Étrurie pourrait donc s'expliquer par l'existence d'un culte d'Asklépios, attesté par la mention ou la représentation du dieu sur plusieurs objets, dès le 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., diffusé depuis la Grèce par la médiation de l'Italie du Sud ou de l'Italie centrale et revivifié par l'implantation du dieu-médecin à Rome.

Même si l'Étrurie a pu entrer en contact très tôt avec des territoires où la diffusion des ex-voto anatomiques suit celle du culte d'Asklépios, la thèse d'une influence du culte d'Asklépios sur les dépôts d'ex-voto anatomiques en Étrurie ne manque pas de faiblesses. L'existence, l'ancienneté et la popularité d'un culte d'Asklépios en Étrurie apparaissent très discutables.

L'Étrurie compte peu de témoignages directs du culte d'Asklépios. Pour la période qui nous intéresse, seuls deux objets témoignent d'un culte consacré à Asklépios, le fameux vase de Chiusi sur lequel serait inscrite la plus ancienne dédicace d'Étrurie à Asklépios et le miroir de Bolsena avec le nom *Esplace*. Dans les deux cas, la forme utilisée pour désigner Asklépios est dorienne et a dû être empruntée au moment où l'Étrurie était particulièrement réceptive aux éléments culturels doriens, soit entre la fin du 7^{ème} et début 6^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., c'est-à-dire à une époque où le dieu Asklépios était peu connu en Grèce même⁵⁷. Il faut aussi exclure la dédicace de Bologne des attestations étrusques du culte d'Asklépios puisqu'elle est rédigée en grec et qu'elle émane sans doute de commerçants de Corcyre ou de Corinthe installés dans la plaine padane. Enfin, les inscriptions impériales ne prouvent évidemment que la pratique d'un culte consacré à Esculape bien après la période de diffusion des ex-voto anatomiques en Étrurie.

De plus, le culte d'Asklépios semble avoir connu un succès limité en Italie jusqu'à son implantation officielle à Rome. Aucune trace archéologique du *fanum Aesculapi* où, selon Valère Maxime repris par Aurélius Victor, Asklépios se serait arrêté, n'a été découverte et Tite-Live ne fait mention du *fanum* que pour l'année 170 avant J.-C. En Italie du Sud, seules les cités d'Agrigente, de Syracuse et de Tarente pourraient avoir accueilli un culte du dieu⁵⁸.

En outre, les pratiques culturelles étrusques ont différé de celles en cours en Grèce en l'honneur d'Esculape dans les *asklepieia*. Aucun témoignage

⁵⁷ Cf. A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 235; V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, *Tò iερό τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο καὶ ἡ χρονολογία τῶν κορινθιακῶν ἀγγείων*, *AS* 60 (1982), p. 49-56; ID., *Staatskult und Geschichte der Stadt Epidaurios, Archaionomia* 1 (1980), p. 41.

⁵⁸ Cf. A. COMELLA, *Riflessi*, p. 230-231.

figuré ou écrit d'incubation n'est connu pour l'Étrurie⁵⁹. La parenté apparente entre ex-voto de terre cuite étrusques et ex-voto de terre cuite corinthiens est illusoire parce que les choix des membres représentés et des formes de représentation divergent⁶⁰. Certes, les membres sont représentés de façon éparse et fabriqués en terre cuite à Corinthe et en Étrurie mais, à Corinthe, les bras et les mains sont toujours baissés et présentés sur leur face externe⁶¹, alors que les bras et les mains sont levés et ouverts sur les ex-voto étrusques⁶². De plus, à Corinthe, les jambes et les pieds sont rarement décrits sous forme d'une sandale ou d'une plaque, ce qui est le cas le plus courant en Étrurie; on trouve au contraire des jambes entières qui devaient être attachées par des courroies aux murs où elles étaient exposées⁶³. De surcroît, à Corinthe, les organes internes ne sont pas figurés, alors qu'ils le sont en Étrurie; enfin, à Corinthe, les petites parties du corps votives, comme les seins, les organes génitaux masculins, les yeux et les oreilles sont exposés sur des petites plaques de terre cuite pour être fixées aux murs du sanctuaire⁶⁴, alors qu'en dehors de Corinthe, en Étrurie particulièrement, tous ces organes sont offerts isolément sans recours à une base de terre cuite⁶⁵.

Le culte d'Esculape n'a donc pas rencontré en Étrurie un succès populaire: ni son nom ni les formes de son culte n'ont été durablement adoptés. Il nous paraît donc difficile d'expliquer la «folie thérapeutique⁶⁶»

⁵⁹ En revanche, ils sont nombreux dans le culte d'Asklépios. Cf. E.J. et L. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius. A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, II, Baltimore 1945, p. 145-158.

⁶⁰ Cf. B. FORSÉN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 119-120.

⁶¹ Cf. C. ROEBUCK, *op. cit.* (n. 10), n° 49-73, pl. 36-40.

⁶² Cf. A. COMELLA, *I materiali votivi di Falerii*, Rome 1986, E4I-III, tab. 33 a-c.

⁶³ Cf. C. ROEBUCK, *op. cit.*, n. 77-97, pl. 39, 41-43.

⁶⁴ Cf. C. ROEBUCK, *op. cit.*, n. 20-30, pl. 34-35 (seins); n. 31-48, pl. 35-37 (organes génitaux masculins); n. 13-15, pl. 29 et 33 (yeux); n. 8-12, pl. 33 (oreilles). Sur l'une de ces terres cuites présentées par Roebuck (n. 60), un crochet est encore visible.

⁶⁵ Pour les oreilles, cf. A. COMELLA, *Materiali votivi* (n. 62), E3I-VIII, tab. 32 a-c; S. COSTANTINI, *op. cit.* (n. 26), E2I et II, tab. 31; A. COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera. Santa Marinella, Comune di Civitavecchia, I. I materiali votivi*, Rome 2001, G2fr1, tab. XXVIIb.

Pour les seins, cf. A. PAUTASSO, *Il deposito votivo presso la porta Nord a Vulci*, Rome 1994, H 5, tab. 41 a, c; S. COSTANTINI, *op. cit.* (n. 26), E8I à IX, tab. 35-36; A. COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera I*, G5I-II, tab. XXIX e et f.

Pour des organes génitaux masculins, cf. A. PAUTASSO, *op. cit.*, H 6, tab. 41 b, c; A. COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera I*, G6I-IV, tab. XXX a-c.

Pour des pieds, cf. A. COMELLA, *Materiali votivi* (n. 62), E8I-X, tab. 35c, 36a-d; A. PAUTASSO, *op. cit.*, H 4, tab. 40 d; S. COSTANTINI, *op. cit.* (n. 26), E7I à XIII, tab. 35-36; A. COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera I*, G4I, tab. XXIX a.

⁶⁶ Expression d'A. DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1918, p. 116 (*folia terapeutica*).

qui a saisi beaucoup d'Étrusques entre le 4^{ème} et le 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C. par une inclination particulière pour le dieu-médecin qu'était Esculape.

En revanche, la vogue des ex-voto anatomiques peut s'inscrire dans le cadre d'une dévotion continue des Étrusques pour le dieu Apollon auquel ils reconnaissaient des qualités de thérapeute. Le dieu est en effet très souvent représenté comme divinité médicale sur des statuettes votives découvertes dans les sanctuaires étrusques.

Les témoignages du culte d'Apollon, qui plus est d'un Apollon sans doute *medicus*, se comptent ainsi par centaines dans des sanctuaires d'Etrurie où des ex-voto anatomiques ont été déposés, alors qu'aucune des quelques attestations étrusques du culte d'Asklépios n'y a été découverte.

ATTESTATIONS D'APOLLON À LA LYRE DANS DES SANCTUAIRES D'ÉTRURIE
ABRITANT DES EX-VOTO ANATOMIQUES

<i>Sanctuaires</i>	<i>Nombre d'attestations d'Apollon à la lyre</i>	<i>Date de ces attestations</i>
Véies-Portonaccio ⁶⁷	une cinquantaine de statuettes en terre cuite ⁶⁸	du 5 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. au 3 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.
Véies-Campetti ⁶⁹	environ 400 statuettes de terre cuite d'Apollon à la lyre ⁷⁰	du 4 ^{ème} siècle et du 3 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.

⁶⁷ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Portonaccio, cf. G.A. COLINI, *Veio. Scavi nell'area della città e della necropoli*, NS 1919, p. 10; R. CIONCOLONI FERRUZZI, S. MAR-CHIORI, *I culti del santuario di Veio-Portonaccio alla luce delle testimonianze votive*, *ScAnt* 3-4 (1989-1990), p. 210 sq.

⁶⁸ Cf. G. COLONNA, *Note preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio*, *ScAnt* 1 (1987), p. 431 sq.

⁶⁹ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Campetti, cf. A. COMELLA, G. STEFANI, *Materiali votivi del santuario di Campetti a Veio*, Rome 1990, p. 102-108.

⁷⁰ Plusieurs types d'Apollon ont été dégagés dans le même sanctuaire: un Apollon à la lyre et au plectre du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (E1I; E1Ia 1 et 2, E1Ib 1-3, E1Ic 1-15, E1Id 1-3, E1If 1-3 in A. COMELLA, G. STEFANI, *Materiali votivi del santuario di Campetti a Veio*, p. 56-58, tav. 12a; I V in L. VAGNETTI, *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio: materiale degli scavi 1937-1938*, Florence 1971, p. 78, tav. XL); un Apollon à la lyre du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (I IV in L. VAGNETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 77, tav. XL en 390 exemplaires); un Apollon à la lyre du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (E1II in A. COMELLA, G. STEFANI, *op. cit.*, p. 58, tav. 12 b); un Apollon à la lyre appuyé sur une petite colonne du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (E1III in A. COMELLA, G. STEFANI, *op. cit.*, p. 58, tav. 12 c); un Apollon à la lyre appuyé sur un petit pilastre du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (E1IV in A. COMELLA, G. STEFANI, *op. cit.*, p. 59, tav. 12 d). Voir aussi *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. *Apollon* / *Aplu*, n° 90 et 91 (I. KRAUSKOPF).

<i>Sanctuaires</i>	<i>Nombre d'attestations d'Apollon à la lyre</i>	<i>Date de ces attestations</i>
Faléries-Celle ⁷¹	1 statuette de terre cuite ⁷²	4 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.
Lucus Feroniae ⁷³	1 statuette de terre cuite ⁷⁴	3 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.
Tessennano ⁷⁵	1 statuette de bronze ⁷⁶	3 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.
Fontanile di Legnisina ⁷⁷	Une partie de statuette de terre cuite ⁷⁸	4 ^{ème} -3 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.
Santa Marinella ⁷⁹	1 statuette de terre cuite ⁸⁰	3 ^{ème} ou 2 ^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.

Toutes ces statuettes reproduisent un type d'Apollon musicien connu dans le sanctuaire médical d'Apollon Maleatas à Épidaure. On l'y trouve à la fois sur deux petits bronzes de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle ou du début 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., reproduisant sans doute la statue de culte du sanctuaire⁸¹, sur deux disques de terre cuite destinés à être suspendus qui sont ornés d'une lyre en relief⁸², sur des fragments de plaques de terre cuite reproduisant une lyre⁸³ et sur une monnaie du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.⁸⁴. Là,

⁷¹ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Celle, cf. A. COMELLA, *Materiali votivi* (n. 62), p. 56-78.

⁷² Cf. A. COMELLA, *Materiali votivi*, p. 53, D 1 VII, Taf. 27 c.

⁷³ Cf. R. BARTOCCINI, *Colonia Iulia Felix Lucus Feroniae*, in *Atti VII Congr. Arch. Class.* (Rome 1958), Rome 1961, II, p. 250.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale. Catalogo della mostra. Museo nazionale di Villa Giulia*, 1975, p. 122 sq, n. 34.

⁷⁵ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Tessennano, cf. S. COSTANTINI, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 71-103.

⁷⁶ Cf. G. GUALANDI, *Il tipo dell'Apollo liricine nella piccola plastica bronzistica etrusca*, in *Studi di antichità in onore di Guglielmo Maetzke*, II, Rome 1984, p. 299-300, tav. III a-b; S. COSTANTINI, *op. cit.* (n. 26), L 4, tab. 50 d.

⁷⁷ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Fontanile di Legnisina, cf. L. RICCIARDI, *Canino (Viterbo). Il santuario etrusco di Fontanile di Legnisina. Relazione delle campagne di scavo 1985 e 1986: l'altare monumentale e il deposito votivo*, NS 1988-1989 (1992), p. 169-194.

⁷⁸ Cf. L. RICCIARDI, *art. cit.*, p. 164, n° 61.

⁷⁹ Sur les ex-voto anatomiques trouvés à Punta della Vipera, cf. A. COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera* (n. 65), p. 79-104.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. COMELLA, *op. cit.*, E1 IV, tab. XX b.

⁸¹ P. KAVVADIAS, *Tò ieròn toũ 'Aσκληπιοũ*, Athènes 1900, p. 179, mentionne la présence de statuettes votives d'Apollon dans la *cella* du temple d'Apollon Maleatas sur le Kynortion, mais ne les décrit pas.

⁸² Cf. *Tò 'Eργον τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας κατὰ τὸ 1978*, p. 41, n. 15, fig. 46; G. TOUCHAIS, *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1978*, BCH 103 (1979), p. 561, fig. 82; E. PEPPA-PAPAIΟΑΝΝΟΥ, *Πήλινα ειδώλια ἀπὸ τοῦ ιεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλῶνα Μαλεάτα Επιδαυρίας*, diss. Athènes 1985, p. 134, B599 et B600, pl. 74.

⁸³ Cf. E. PEPPA-PAPAIΟΑΝΝΟΥ, *op. cit.*, p. 65, A287 et A288, pl. 73.

⁸⁴ Cf. LIMC, 2, 1984, s.v. *Apollon*, n° 94 (O. PALAGIA).

Apollon Maleatas, qui passait pour le père d'Asklépios⁸⁵, avait bénéficié le premier d'une réputation de dieu guérisseur⁸⁶, puisque les *asklepieia* se sont greffés à des sanctuaires d'Apollon préexistants, notamment à Corinthe⁸⁷ et à Épidaure⁸⁸. Cette figuration d'Apollon à la lyre⁸⁹, utilisée évidemment d'abord pour indiquer les pouvoirs musicaux oraculaires du dieu, pourrait avoir eu aussi un autre sens. Elle signalait sans doute l'aspect salubre de ce même dieu, qui parrainait aussi sacrifices et meurtres⁹⁰. Comme l'arc envoyait maladies et épidémies, la lyre procurait

⁸⁵ Voir Liv. XL 51.6 qui rend par *medicus* l'épithète grecque ἀλεξίκακος; Ov., *fast.*, I 291 sq. Sur Apollon Maleatas, cf. U. VON WILAMOWITZ, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (*Philologische Untersuchungen*, 9), Berlin 1886 (sur une inscription du début du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.), p. 11, 87, 98; M. GUARDUCCI, *I predecessori di Asclepio*, *SMR* 8 (1932), p. 215-229, spéc. p. 216-217. Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Maleatas à Epidaure est signalé par Pausanias, II 27.7.

⁸⁶ Cf. M.P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I 2: *Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft*, Munich 1955, p. 538-544.

⁸⁷ À Corinthe, c'est le culte d'Asklépios qui semble avoir été associé, à la fin du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., au culte d'Apollon qui s'accomplissait jusque-là dans un petit temple à ciel ouvert. Cf. C. ROEBUCK, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 152-154; A. COMELLA, *Riflessi* (n. 3), p. 221-222.

⁸⁸ Cf. F. ROBERT, *L'édifice E d'Epidaure et la topographie du Hiéron d'Asclepios*, *BCH* 57 (1933), p. 380-393; J. PAPADIMITRIOU, 'Ανασκαφή ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖ καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, *PAAH* 1945-1947 (1948), p. 90-111; ID., *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Maléatas à Epidaure*, *BCH* 73 (1949), p. 361-383; ID., 'Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου, *PAAH* 1949, p. 91-99; ID., 'Ανασκαφαὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου, *PAAH* 1950, p. 194-202; H. GALLET DE SANTERRE, *Chronique des fouilles de 1949*, *BCH* 74 (1950), p. 303-304; J. PAPADIMITRIOU, 'Ανασκαφαὶ Ἐπιδαύρου, *PAAH* 1950, p. 204-212; A. BURFORD, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros. A Social and Economic Study of Building in the Asklepios Sanctuary, during the Fourth and Early Third Centuries B.C.*, Liverpool 1969, p. 41-50; V. LAMBRINUDAKIS, *Staatskult* (n. 57), p. 49; ID., *Remains of the Mycenaean Period in the Sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas*, in R. HÄGG et N. MARINATOS (éd.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens*, 12-13 may 1980, Stockholm 1981, p. 59-65; ID., *Conservation and Research: New Evidence on a Long-Living Cult. The Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios at Epidauros*, in M. STAMATOPOULOU et M. YEROULANOU (éd.), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece* (*BAR International Series*, 1031), Oxford 2002, p. 213-224.

Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Maleatas d'Épidaure est toutefois beaucoup moins bien connu que celui d'Asklépios, notamment parce que les fouilles réalisées par Cavvadias à la fin du 19^{ème} siècle n'ont jamais été publiées.

⁸⁹ Sur ce type de figuration, cf. W.H. RÖSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, Leipzig 1884-1886, p. 454-459; O. DEUBNER, *Hellenistische Apollodgealten*, Athènes 1934; K.A. PFEIFF, *Apollon. Die Wandlung seines Bildes in der griechischen Kunst*, Francfort 1943, *passim*; G. GUALANDI, *art. cit.* (n. 76), p. 295-307. Sur la lyre dans le monde grec, cf. Th.J. MATHIESEN, *Apollo's Lyre. Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Lincoln-Londres 1999.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. DETIENNE, *Les bouchers d'Apollon*, in G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros* (*Mnemosyne, Suppl.* 70), Leiden 1982, p. IX-XX; ID., *De l'Apollon en clair-obscur*, *Annu-*

soins et guérisons⁹¹. Ainsi, Apollon se conformait à l'oracle que lui-même avait prononcé pour Télèphe à propos d'Achille: ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, «celui qui blesse guérit». Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si les Vestales et les chœurs de jeunes gens romains s'adressaient à Apollon, en le qualifiant de Péan et en entonnant des péans: cette forme de chant convenait à une demande de guérison et de salut et s'accompagnait de musique jouée avec une lyre⁹².

L'introduction officielle du culte d'Apollon *medicus* à Rome, en 433 avant J.-C., à la suite d'une épidémie, a sûrement joué un rôle essentiel dans le succès en Étrurie du culte de ce dieu. Alors, les Romains vouent au dieu un temple⁹³, dédié une première fois par le consul Cn. Iulius en 431 avant J.-C.⁹⁴, puis à nouveau, après restauration, en 353 avant J.-C.⁹⁵ et utilisé comme point de départ de processions solennelles entre 207 et 200 avant J.-C., vers le temple de Junon Reine sur l'Aventin, avant d'être restauré en 179 avant J.-C.⁹⁶. Le culte d'Apollon *medicus* connaît donc un grand succès à Rome puisqu'une restauration a paru nécessaire. En outre, les fidèles semblent avoir adopté l'habitude de déposer des

aire de l'EPHE. Section des sciences religieuses 92 (1983-1984), p. 323-325; ID., *L'Apolon meurtrier et les crimes de sang*, QUCC 22 (1986), p. 7-17 [= *Apollo's Slaughterhouse*, *Diacritics*, été 1986, p. 46-53]; ID., *Apollon und Dionysos in der griechischen Religion*, in R. FABER et R. SCHLESIER (éd.), *Die Restauration der Götter. Antike Religion und Neopaganismus*, Würzburg 1998, p. 124-132; ID., *Apollon, le couteau à la main: une approche expérimentale du polythéisme grec*, Paris 1998.

⁹¹ Sur la parenté de morphologie, de facture et de maniement de l'arc et de la lyre, cf. Ph. MONBRUN, *Apollon: de l'arc à la lyre*, in *Chanter les dieux. Musique et religion dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* [Actes du colloque des 16, 17 et 18 décembre 1999 (Rennes et Lorient)], Rennes 2001, p. 59-96.

⁹² Pour les Vestales, cf. Macr., *sat.* I 17.15: *Apollo medice, Apollo Paeon*. Pour les chœurs de jeunes gens et jeunes filles, cf. Zos. II 5.5: παιᾶνας, δι' ὃν αἱ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους σῶζονται πόλεις (à propos des cérémonies du 3^{ème} jour des jeux séculaires). Le genre musical du péan est expliqué par A. BÉLIS, *Esthétique musicale du péan à travers l'exemple des Hymnes delphiques à Apollon*, in *Chanter les dieux* (voir n. 90), Rennes, 2001, p. 97-114.

Dans *Il.* I 473, Homère fait même du péan une demande de salut et de délivrance; selon Procl., *Chrestom.*, éd. Bekker, 320a21-25, le péan était chanté autrefois en l'honneur d'Apollon et d'Artémis pour qu'ils fissent cesser pestes et maladies.

D'après Hom., *Hymn.*, *Ap.* 515 (phorminx), Theogn. 778 (cithare) et Eur., *Ion.*, 905 (lyre), le péan était chanté avec un accompagnement de cithare.

⁹³ Cf. Liv. IV 25.3: *Pestilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium praebuit. Aedis Apollini pro uoletudine populi uota est; multa diuini ex libris placandae deum irae auertendaeque a populo pestis causa fecere.*

⁹⁴ Cf. Liv. IV 29.7.

⁹⁵ Cf. Liv. VII 20.9.

⁹⁶ Cf. Liv. XL 51.3, 4-6.

membres votifs en terre cuite dans le temple du dieu. Ainsi, toute une série d'ex-voto anatomiques trouvés près du Ponte Garibaldi, du Ponte quattro Capi et en aval, près du Ponte Cestio, du Ponte Rotto et du Ponte Palatino⁹⁷ peuvent appartenir au temple d'Apollon *medicus* qui se trouvait tout près et, récemment, des ex-voto ont été découverts dans l'angle sud-ouest du temple de Bellone, contigu celui d'Apollon *medicus*⁹⁸.

Or, le type de figuration utilisé pour représenter Apollon *medicus* pourrait avoir été semblable à celui qui apparaît en Étrurie et à Épidaure. Ainsi, certains des ex-voto trouvés dans le Tibre figurent Apollon à la lyre⁹⁹ et l'époque des travaux de restauration du temple romain d'Apollon *medicus*, au moment de la censure de M. Aemilius Lepidus et du consulat de M. Fulvius Nobilior, coïncide avec la phase d'activité de Timarchides, un sculpteur grec qui, selon Pline, avait créé une statue colossale d'Apollon *qui citharam (...) tenet*¹⁰⁰, servant peut-être de statue de culte du temple d'Apollon *medicus*¹⁰¹.

Aussi, il est tentant d'expliquer le succès de cet Apollon *medicus* musicien en Étrurie par la conquête de l'Étrurie par Rome et l'envoi de colons romains dans les territoires vaincus. Les plus anciennes statuettes d'Apollon à la lyre que nous avons mentionnées remontent ainsi au 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., soit au moment de la prise de ces cités et après la construction du temple d'Apollon *medicus* à Rome. Sans doute l'influence

⁹⁷ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 9-11.

⁹⁸ Cf. P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO, *Tempio di Apollo: nuove indagini sulla fase repubblicana*, *RPAA* 70 (1997-1998), p. 177-195, spéc. p. 195.

⁹⁹ Cf. P. PENSABENE, M.-A. RIZZO, M. ROGHI, E. TALAMO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n° 25 à 31, tab. 9 et 10.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Plin., *N.H.* XXXVI 35: *Eum qui citharam in eodem templo tenet, Timarchides fecit*. Sur le sculpteur, cf. *RE VIA* 1 (1936), s.v. *Timarchides*, col. 1233-1234; M. BIEBER, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1961², p. 160; J. MARCADÉ, *Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs grecs*, II, Paris 1957, p. 131, 134; A. GIULIANO, *La cultura artistica delle provincie della Grecia in età romana*, Rome 1965, p. 47 sq.; G. DESPINIS, *Studien zur hellenistischen Plastik I: Zwei Künstlerfamilien aus Athen*, *AM* 110 (1995), p. 321-372, spéc. p. 366-368; E. LA ROCCA, *Greek Artists in Republican Rome: a Short History of Sculpture*, in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*, New York 1996, p. 618; P. MORENO, *Scultura ellenistica I*, Rome 1994, p. 522-524.

¹⁰¹ Cf. G. BECATTI, *Timarchides e l'Apollon qui tenet citharam*, *BCAR* 63 (1935), p. 111 sq. [= *Attikà*, *RIASA*, 7, 1940, p. 111 sq.]; F. COARELLI, *Il tempio di Bellona*, *BCAR* 80 (1965-1967), p. 37-72; ID., *Polycles*, *Studi Miscellanei* 15 (1970), p. 81-89 [= *Revixit ars. Arte e ideologia a Roma. Dai modelli ellenistici alla tradizione repubblicana*, Rome 1996, p. 258-279]; E. LA ROCCA, *L'Apollon «qui citharam...tenet» di Timarchides: un frammento dal tempio di Apollo in circo*, *BMusRom* 23 (1977), p. 16-33.

romaine a-t-elle contribué de façon décisive au succès du culte du dieu, mais d'autres raisons font que le culte d'Apollon *medicus* était si apprécié en Étrurie que les Étrusques ne semblent pas avoir eu besoin de recourir au début du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. à un second dieu-médecin.

Le culte d'Apollon *medicus* en Étrurie paraît d'abord au moins aussi ancien que celui du dieu à Rome. Si la plupart des représentations d'Apollon en bronze remontent à la pleine période de diffusion des ex-voto anatomiques d'Italie, l'Étrurie a livré dans un même site, celui de la Villa Cassarini, à Bologne, une statuette d'Apollon nu à la lyre du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹⁰² et deux jambes et un pied de bronze, tous du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹⁰³. En revanche, Rome ne semble pas avoir livré de statuette du dieu de la même époque. Certes, les Romains ont consacré, en dehors du *pomerium*, dans les *prata Flaminia*, un *Apollinar*, sans doute un lieu de culte avec un autel, près duquel les consuls ont convoqué le sénat en 449 avant J.-C.¹⁰⁴, mais aucune statuette d'Apollon à la lyre de cette époque n'a été, semble-t-il, découverte, et la statue archaïsante d'Apollon, découverte à la source Juturne du Forum romain, qui reproduisait sans doute un Apollon archaïque de la Rome étrusque¹⁰⁵, est trop abîmée pour qu'il soit possible de lui restituer une lyre plutôt qu'un arc et des flèches, par exemple.

Apollon *medicus* pourrait aussi avoir été associé à un culte des eaux plus vivace en Étrurie qu'à Rome. Ainsi, le sanctuaire-source de Marzabotto a livré une statuette de *kouros*, les poings fermés et tendus en avant, de 470 avant J.-C.¹⁰⁶, et deux ex-voto anatomiques en bronze du 5^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹⁰⁷. A Faléries, dans le sanctuaire de Vignale où

¹⁰² Cf. G. GUALANDI, *Santuari e stipi votive dell'Etruria padana*, SE 42 (1974), p. 57-58, tav. IX, d-e; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 76), p. 297-298, tav. I; G. COLONNA (éd.), *Santuari d'Etruria*, Milan 1985, p. 93, 4.11.B.2; M. CRISTOFANI, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, fig. 7.3; A. ROMUALDI, *Il santuario e le stipi votive di villa Cassarini a Bologna*, in G. BERMOND MONTANARI, *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna* [Bologna, Museo civico Archeologico, 26 sett. 1987 – 24 gennaio 1988], Bologne 1987, p. 89-90, n. 1, fig. 54; M. MIARI, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹⁰³ Cf. M. MIARI, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 7-9.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Liv. III 67.7: *Itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in Prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est, iam tum Apollinarem appellabant, auocauere Senatam.*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. E. SIMON, *Apollo in Etruria*, *Ann. Faina* 5 (1998), p. 123, fig. 6; L. HARRI, *Statuaria*, in E.M. STEINBY (éd.), *Lacus Iuturnae* I, 1. *Analisi delle fonti*. 2. *Materiali dagli scavi Boni* (1900), Rome 1989, p. 198-202, fig. 24-26.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. E. SIMON, *art. cit.*, p. 123, fig. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Une jambe et un pied sont présentés dans G. COLONNA (éd.), *Santuari d'Etruria* (n. 102), p. 114, 5.4.B.6-7.

une centaine d'ex-voto anatomiques a été découverte, un fragment de vase portant une dédicace inscrite à Apollon de la fin du 4^{ème} siècle ou du début du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., a été trouvé à côté d'une citerne¹⁰⁸. A Vicarello, où une *stips* contenant des objets datant du 8^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. au 4^{ème} siècle après J.-C. a été déposée près des sources thermales, de nombreuses inscriptions latines¹⁰⁹ se rapportent au culte d'Apollon et une statue d'Apollon du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. a été mise au jour dans une petite pièce-nymphée de l'Empire¹¹⁰. Enfin, des dédicaces latines à Apollon ont été découvertes à proximité de sources à Musignano¹¹¹ et à S. Casciano¹¹². Or, l'eau pourrait avoir constitué un élément essentiel du culte d'Apollon *medicus*. Ainsi, les sanctuaires d'Apollon et d'Asklépios Épidaure étaient alimentés en eau par un aqueduc souterrain qui recueillait l'eau des sources par plusieurs tunnels souterrains et la conduisait jusqu'au nord-est du grand sanctuaire¹¹³. À Rome, existait un *fons Apollinaris* qui faisait encore l'objet d'un culte à l'époque de Trajan en raison de ses propriétés médicales¹¹⁴. La position de ce *fons* pourrait être signalée par un *monopteros* circulaire avec une colonnade corinthienne portant une inscription dédicatoire *IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS* et trouvé entre le théâtre de Marcellus et les temples d'Apollon et de Bellone¹¹⁵. Ce

¹⁰⁸ Pour l'inscription, cf. CIE 8030; G. GIACOMELLI, *La lingua falisca*, Florence 1963, p. 59, n. 31; A. COMELLA, *Materiali votivi* (n. 62), n° 28 p. 171, tav. 76: *apolonos*. Pour les ex-voto anatomiques, cf. A. COMELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 56-78.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. CIL XI 3285-3289; 3294-3296.

¹¹⁰ Sur cette statue, cf. L. FABBRI, *L'Apollo di Vicarello e l'inserimento del suo prototipo nell'ambito della scultura attica del IV sec.a.C.*, MDAIR 90 (1983), p. 1-33. Pour une description du nymphée, cf. A.M. COLINI, *Vicarello. La sorgente termale nel tempo*, Rome 1979, p. 11-12.

¹¹¹ CIL XI 2925.

¹¹² CIL XI 2094.

¹¹³ Cf. V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, *Staatskult* (n. 57), p. 57 et fig. 7; ID., *Conservation and Research* (n. 88), p. 219-220.

Sur l'emploi religieux de l'eau en Grèce, cf. S. GUETTEL COLE, *The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries*, in R. HÄGG, N. MARINATOS et G.C. NORDQUIST (éd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* [Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens (26-29 June 1986)], Stockholm 1988, p. 161-165; R. GINOUVES, *Dieux guérisseurs et sanctuaires de sources dans la Grèce antique*, in C. LANDES et al. (éd.), *Dieux guérisseurs en Gaule romaine. Catalogue de l'exposition*, Lattes 1992, p. 98; V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, *L'eau médicale à Epidaure*, in R. Ginouvès, A.-M. GUIMIER-SORBETS, J. JOUANNA et L. VILLARD (éd.), *L'eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec* [Actes du colloque de Paris, 25-27 novembre 1992], Paris 1994, p. 227.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Frontin, *aq.*, 4, 2; 1, 4.

¹¹⁵ Cf. E. LA ROCCA, *Due monumenti a pianta circolare in circo Flaminio: il perirhanterion e la columna Bellica*, in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of F.E. Brown (1908-1988)*, Hanovre-Londres 1993, p. 17-29, 21.

monopteros pourrait en effet avoir été élevé sur un édifice antérieur, construit pour indiquer l'endroit miraculeux où coulait une eau de source. Cette source aurait donné lieu à un culte d'Apollon dans l'*Apollinar*¹¹⁶, et aurait été recueillie près du temple dans une sorte de *lauacrum* contenant de l'eau lustrale¹¹⁷, où, selon Plutarque, Catilina aurait lavé ses mains sanglantes¹¹⁸ et elle aurait été conduite dans un canal souterrain de l'angle sud-est du temple d'Apollon jusqu'à la hauteur de la fondation circulaire.

Le culte d'Apollon *medicus* pourrait aussi avoir été préféré à celui d'Asklépios en raison des compétences de celui-là en matière de sexualité. Les dépôts votifs étrusques comportent en effet une grande quantité d'ex-voto sexuels.

Si l'on s'en tient aux sanctuaires où des statuettes d'Apollon à la lyre ont été découvertes :

LES EX-VOTO SEXUELS DANS LES SANCTUAIRES ÉTRUSQUES
ABRITANT DES STATUETTES D'APOLLON À LA LYRE

<i>Sanctuaires</i>	<i>Nombre total d'ex-voto</i>	<i>Pourcentage d'ex-voto anatomiques par rapport au total d'ex-voto</i>	<i>Pourcentage d'ex-voto sexuels par rapport au total d'ex-voto anatomiques</i>
Véies-Campetti	629	0,8 %	3,7 %
Portonaccio ¹¹⁹	150	6 %	11,11 %
Tessennano	346	65 %	55,2 %
S. Marinella	313	35,7 %	45,5 %
Faléries-Celle	251	3,1 %	37,5 %
Fontanile di Legnisina	310	92,5 %	93,7 %
Gravisca	601	46,25 %	87,7 %

¹¹⁶ Cf. J. GAGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 50), Paris 1955, p. 73; J. ARONEN, *LTUR* I (1993), s.v. *Fons Apollinaris*, p. 257 et M.J. KARDOS, *Lexique de topographie romaine*, Paris 2002, s.v. *Apollinare*, p. 17-18.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Cic., *in toga candid.* = Ascon. 80.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Plut., *Syll.* 32.

¹¹⁹ L'ensemble du matériel de Portonaccio n'ayant pas été édité, nous limitons ici l'enquête à la zone de l'autel, la seule à être éditée de façon satisfaisante par V. MARTELLI ANTONIOLI et L. MARTELLI, in G. COLONNA (éd.), *Il santuario di Portonaccio a Veio. I. Gli scavi di Massimo Pallottino nella zona dell'altare (1939-1940)*, Rome 2002, p. 161-227.

Or, aux yeux des fidèles, Apollon pourrait avoir possédé certains pouvoirs dans ce domaine. On le disait ainsi particulièrement compétent pour les accouchements. D'après le mythe, il aurait lui-même sorti Asklépios, son fils, des entrailles de la mortelle qui était enceinte de lui, Coronis de Larisse¹²⁰. En Grèce, il protégeait les femmes enceintes: une inscription de Delphes dit qu'avec Kourotrophos, Lochia et les Moires, il aurait aidé une femme à accoucher¹²¹. A Phaleron, sur l'autel de Xenokrateia, il est nommé avec des divinités de la naissance comme Leto, Artémis Lochia, Eilethia, Γεραίσται Νύμφαι Γενέθλιαι et des divinités des fleuves et des sources¹²². Apollon protégeait aussi la vie des enfants puisqu'il était appelé Γενέτωρ, Φέρεσβιος et Βιοδώτης¹²³; dans les sanctuaires d'Apollon de Delphes, d'Amphanai et de Délos, les fidèles lui offraient d'ailleurs des statues d'enfants. Il portait les épithètes de Καλλίτεκνος, Κουρίδιος, Κουρέας, Κόρυθος et de Ὑάκινθος¹²⁴ et dans les scholies de l'*Odyssee*¹²⁵, il est nommé Κουροτρόφος. À Rome, les *ludi Tauri* auraient été créés par Tarquin le Superbe quand une peste eut touché surtout les femmes enceintes¹²⁶; or, ces *ludi* se déroulaient dans le *circus Flaminius*, correspondant aux archaïques *prata Flaminia*, où se trouvait l'*Apollinar*. Les nourrissons romains qui étaient nés par césarienne étaient ainsi consacrés à Apollon¹²⁷. Et, quand un accouchement ne donnait pas

Nous avons tenté de faire entrer dans notre total les objets qui paraissent avoir une destination votive aux yeux des éditeurs.

¹²⁰ On trouvera l'ensemble des références littéraires à ce mythe dans *RE* XI 2 (1922), s.v. *Koronis*, col. 1431-1432 (LACKEIT). Sur les représentations de Coronis dans l'art étrusque, cf. R. HAMPE et E. SIMON, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mayence 1964, p. 32-34.

¹²¹ Cf. O. WEINREICH, *Eine delphische Mirakel-Inschrift und die antike Haarwunder*, Heidelberg 1925, p. 3-7; E. BOURGUET, *Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*, Paris 1929, p. 374-375, n° 560; T. HADZISTELIOU PRICE, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden 1978, p. 137.

¹²² Cf. *IG* II² 4547.

¹²³ Cf. *RE* II (1895), s.v. *Apollon*, col. 1-111 (K. WERNICKE).

¹²⁴ Cf. Ch. VORSTER, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Bonn 1983, p. 55-56, 84.

¹²⁵ Cf. 29, 86.

¹²⁶ Cf. Fest. p. 478, 25 L: *Tauri appellabantur ludi in honorem inferorum facti. Instituti autem uidentur hac de causa: regnante Superbo Tarquinio cum magna incidisset pestilentia in mulieres grauidas, quae fuerat facta ex carne di[u]endita populo taurorum, ob hoc dis inferis instituti et Tauri uocati sunt.* Serv. Aen. II 140: *unde ludi Tauri dicti, qui ex libris fatalibus a rege Tarquinio Superbo instituti sunt propterea quod omnis partus mulierum male cedebat.*

¹²⁷ Cf. Verg., *Aen.* X 316 et le commentaire de Servius: *omnes qui secto matris uentre procreantur, ideo sunt Apollini consecrati, quia deus est medicinae, per quam lucem sortiuntur.* Pour un commentaire du passage, cf. D. GOUREVITCH, *Chirurgie obstétricale*

l'issue attendue, c'est encore à Apollon que l'on s'adressait. En 207 avant J.-C., un androgyne naît à Frusinone, une procession est alors conduite du temple d'Apollon dans la ville jusqu'au temple de Junon *Regina*¹²⁸.

Les haruspices pourraient avoir encouragé cette ferveur apollinienne. Apollon est en effet le dieu oraculaire par excellence. Sur un miroir de Tuscania de la fin du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.¹²⁹, un jeune homme coiffé du couvre-chef caractéristique des haruspices examine un foie sous le regard intéressé d'un autre jeune homme qui est nommé *rathlth*¹³⁰ et qui tient, comme Apollon, une branche de laurier. Sur un miroir de Bolsena de la première moitié du 3^{ème} siècle avant J.-C., Apollon assiste avec Alpnu, Umaele à l'examen d'un foie¹³¹. Comme le dieu, les haruspices allient connaissances divinatoires et médicales, souvent associées dans l'esprit des Anciens¹³². Les haruspices se servent ainsi de leur savoir en anatomie pour annoncer le futur à partir de la couleur ou de la forme particulière de certains organes comme le foie ou le cœur¹³³. Dans une Étrurie riche en remèdes¹³⁴, fabriqués à partir de plantes dont les Étrusques sont de fins connaisseurs¹³⁵, les haruspices passent pour des spécialistes de la

dans le monde romain: césarienne et embryotomie, in V. DASEN (éd.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité* [Actes du colloque de Fribourg, 28 nov.-1^{er} décembre 2001], Göttingen 2004, p. 242-245.

¹²⁸ Cf. Liv. XXVII 37.4-15.

¹²⁹ Cf. M. PALLOTTINO, *Uno specchio di Tuscania e la leggenda etrusca di Tarchon*, *RAL*, ser. VI 6, fasc. 3-4 (1930), p. 49-87 [= *Saggi di antichità* II, Rome 1979, p. 679-709]; I. SGOBBO, *Un episodio del periodo etrusco di Roma nella scena di aruspicio dello specchio di Tuscania*, *RAN* 54 (1979), p. 215-280; M. CRISTOFANI, *Il cosiddetto specchio di Tarchon: un recupero e una nuova lettura*, *Prospettiva* 41 (1985), p. 4-20; M. TORELLI, *Etruria principes disciplinam doceto. Il mito normativo dello specchio di Tuscania* (*Studia Tarquiniensia*), Rome 1988, p. 109-118; F.-H. MASSA-PAIRAULT, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica. Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a.C.*, Milan 1992, p. 143-144 fig. 133; L.B. VAN DER MEER, *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*, Amsterdam 1995, p. 97-100.

¹³⁰ Nous laissons de côté la discussion développée par G. COLONNA, *art. cit.* (n. 68), p. 433-435 et dans *Divinazione e culto di Rath/Apollo a Caere (a proposito del santuario in loc. S. Antonio)*, *ArchCI* 52, n.s. 2 (2001), p. 151-173, sur l'équivalence entre Apollon et Rath.

¹³¹ Cf. *LIMC* I, s.v. *Alpan*, n° 2 (R. LAMBRECHTS) = *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. *Apollon / Aplu*, n° 112 (I. KRAUSKOPF) = *LIMC* V (1990), s.v. *Helios / Usil*, n° 22 (I. KRAUSKOPF); *LIMC* VIII (1997), s.v. *Turms*, n° 119, M. Harari et s.v. *Umaele*, n° 5 (G. CAMPOREALE).

¹³² Macr., *sat.*, I 256: *medicinae atque diuinationum consociatae sunt disciplinae*.

¹³³ Cf. C.-O. THULIN, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, II. *Die Haruspicin*, Göteborg 1906, p. 24-46.

¹³⁴ Cf. Theophr., *h. plant.* IX 15.1; Mart. Cap., *De nuptiis* 6.637.

¹³⁵ Cf. Plin., *N.H.* VII 2.

greffe des arbres¹³⁶ et sont capables de distinguer les *arbores felices* des *infelices*¹³⁷. Or, parmi les *infelices* figurent des arbres qui, comme la sanguine et la tamarica, ont des vertus curatives¹³⁸. Enfin, les pestes et les troubles de la naissance sont aussi du ressort des haruspices. Ainsi, les haruspices annoncent au père de Scipion l'Africain que son épouse n'est pas stérile car un immense serpent est apparu dans le lit de cette dernière¹³⁹. Les haruspices sont en effet particulièrement appelés pour les problèmes liés à la sexualité humaine dont ils passent pour des experts¹⁴⁰. Les livres des haruspices contiennent ainsi de nombreuses prescriptions, même architecturales, destinées à préserver la morale des femmes et des jeunes gens¹⁴¹ et le calendrier brontoscopique de Nigidius Figulus, censé être l'œuvre de Tagès, fondateur de l'*Etrusca disciplina*, détaille les effets du tonnerre sur les femmes, leurs enfantements, leur intelligence, leur fécondité et leur pouvoir¹⁴². C'est pourquoi les haruspices sont appelés à Rome sous la République, en particulier pour l'androgynie, dont ils éliminent les cas avérés par l'immersion. La procuration ordonnée par les haruspices en 207 avant J.-C. pour un androgyne prévoit ainsi de l'immerger en pleine mer (*alto mergendum*)¹⁴³. L'opération a une destination purificatrice qui n'est pas sans rapport avec la lustration pratiquée dans certains sanctuaires étrusques où est attesté le culte d'Apollon

¹³⁶ Cf. Varr., *agr.* I 40.5; Plin., *N.H.* XV 57.

¹³⁷ Cf. Macr., *sat.* III 20.3.

¹³⁸ Cf. Plin., *N.H.* XXV 67 (la tamarica) et 73 (la sanguine).

¹³⁹ Cf. Gell. VI 1; Aur. Vict., *vir. ill.* 49.

¹⁴⁰ Les malformations sexuelles animales ne sont pas traitées par les haruspices. Ainsi, quand, en 206 avant J.-C., à Caere, naît un agneau à la fois mâle et femelle, les consuls expient le prodige avec des victimes majeures. Cf. Liv. XXVIII 11.3. On notera que ce type de malformation n'est jamais observable sur les ex-voto d'Etrurie.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Vitruv., *arch.* I 7: *Id autem etiam Etruscis haruspibus disciplinarum scripturis ita est dedicatum, extra murum Veneris, Volcani, Martis fana ideo conlocari uti non insuescat in urbe adolescentibus seu matribus familiarum ueneria libido.*

¹⁴² Voir les dates du 2 juin, 5 août, 19 août, 6 septembre, 19 novembre, 11 février et 29 mars dans D. LIUZZI (éd.), *Nigidio Figulo «astrologo e mago»*. *Testimonianze e frammenti*, Lecce 1983.

¹⁴³ Cf. Liv. XXVII 37.5. Sur l'événement, cf. A. ABAECHELI BOYCE, *The Expiatory Rites of 207 B.C.*, *TaPhA* 68 (1937), p. 157-171; J. COUSIN, *La crise religieuse de 207 avant J.-C.*, *RHR* 126 (1942-1943), p. 15-41; J. GAGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 205-215, 349-370; B. MACBAIN, *Prodigy and Expiation: a Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome*, Bruxelles 1982, p. 68-71; J. CHAMPEAUX, *Pontifes, haruspices et décevirs. L'expiation des prodiges de 207*, *REL* 74 (1996), p. 67-91; A. ALLÉLY, *Les enfants malformés et considérés comme prodigia à Rome et en Italie sous la République*, *REA* 105 (2003), p. 136-139, 151-153.

*medicus*¹⁴⁴. Elle met en cause aussi précisément les matrones qui enfantent de tels monstres. Les haruspices déclarent que le prodige est à la fois honteux et indécent (*foedum ac turpe*)¹⁴⁵ et, quand un nouveau prodige se produit, ils précisent que la souillure concerne les femmes¹⁴⁶: ainsi, à la mise à mort de l'androgyné s'ajoute une procession dans la Ville d'un chœur de 27 jeunes filles. Dans le scandale des Bacchanales, qui met en cause l'honneur des femmes¹⁴⁷, les réponses des haruspices sont aussi citées par le consul Postumius à côté des décrets des pontifes et des sénatus consultes pour aider les Romains à éviter les pièges de la fausse religion¹⁴⁸. Enfin, pour représenter Calchas, le devin grec qui, dans l'*Illiade*, interprète les raisons de la peste envoyée par Apollon¹⁴⁹, un artisan vulcien du 4^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. choisit le modèle de l'haruspice penché sur un foie pour l'examiner¹⁵⁰.

L'abondance d'ex-voto anatomiques en Étrurie s'explique donc davantage par le succès et par l'ancienneté du culte d'Apollon que par la diffusion de celui d'Asklépios. Même si ce dernier passe en Grèce pour le dieu-médecin par excellence, il n'a pas suscité de ferveur populaire en Étrurie: il existe peu de témoignages de son culte à l'époque républicaine et la construction d'un temple consacré à ce dieu, sur l'île tibérine à Rome, n'a pas entraîné de multiplication des attestations étrusques de son culte. En revanche, Apollon, père d'Asklépios, semble avoir joui en Étrurie d'une solide réputation de dieu guérisseur. Des attestations du culte d'Apollon, notamment des statuettes de jeune homme à la lyre, reproduisant peut-être

¹⁴⁴ Sur le symbolisme aquatique, cf. M. ELIADE, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, nouv. éd., Paris 1964, chap. V. Voir l'exemple du sanctuaire de Portonaccio à Véies.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Liv. XXVII 37.6.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Liv. XXVII 37.8: *Prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices cum respondissent.*

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Cic., *leg.* II 15 (37): *Ad nostras igitur reuertor. Quibus profecto diligentissime sanciendum est, ut mulierum famam multorum oculis lux clara custodiat, initienturque eo ritu Cereri quo Romae initiantur. Quo in genere seueritatem maiorum senatus uetus auctoritas de Bacchanalibus et consulum exercitu adhibito quaestio animaduersio declarat.*

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Liv. XXXIX 16.7: *Hac uos (Quirites) religione innumerabilia decreta pontificum, senatus consulta haruspicum denique responsa liberant.*

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hom., *Il.* I 68-100; *Myth. Vat.* 1, 209.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. G. PFISTER-ROESGEN, *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jh. v.Chr.*, Berne-Francfort 1975, p. 63-64, 158-159, tab. 49; U. FISCHER-GRAF, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci*, Berne 1980, p. 67-68, fig. 2; *LIMC* V (1990), s.v. *Kalchas*, n° 1 (V. SALADINO); L.B. VAN DER MEER, *op. cit.* (n. 129), p. 83-85, fig. 32; N.T. DE GRUMMOND, *Mirrors and Manteia: Themes of Prophecy on Etruscan and Praenestine Mirrors*, in *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati* [Atti dell'incontro internazionale di studio (Roma, 2-4 maggio 1997)], Rome 2000, p. 37-38, fig. 8.

la statue de culte du temple d'Apollon *medicus* à Rome, ont été retrouvées par centaines à côté d'ex-voto anatomiques dans les dépôts votifs hellénistiques d'Étrurie. Elles témoignent de la piété populaire étrusque, peut-être encouragée par les haruspices qui se mêlaient des questions relatives à la sexualité humaine, pour un dieu qui veillait particulièrement sur les grossesses, les naissances et les nourrissons.

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ROMAN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND LIVING STANDARDS: PERCEPTIONS VERSUS EVIDENCE*

Abstract: The Romans were profit- and achievement-motivated. Their state was concerned with the security of commerce. Roman law recognized bargaining and freedom of contract. Notwithstanding these essential ingredients for growth and prosperity, many ancient scholars have characterized the Roman economy as 'primitive'. The first part of the paper defines the primitivist perception and then considers a wide range of evidence for Roman economic growth and living standards. Not surprisingly, this evidence does not suggest that Rome sustained growth rates characteristic of contemporary economies. More importantly, the evidence does not in the least suggest that growth was trivial or nonexistent or that Roman living standards were typically at bare subsistence. The ingrained belief in historically negligible economic growth, bare subsistence living standards, absence of integrated markets, and unresponsiveness of institutions to economic needs cannot arise from the handful of numbers and/or the qualitative evidence available to us. Instead, it arises from three interrelated theoretical identifications, all of which are faulty, namely: (1) the identification of economic growth with industrialization; (2) the identification of population growth with population 'pressure'; and (3) the identification of ancient society with a subset of contemporary 'traditional' societies whose institutional structures wreck incentives and strangle economic growth. The second part of the paper outlines and analyzes these incorrect identifications. The third part of the paper considers broader questions of the Roman economy including limits on economic growth, reasons for economic decline, and sources of 'industrial revolutions'.

The economic structures of the Roman world laid a foundation for growth and rising living standards. The Romans were profit- and achievement-motivated. They invested in human and physical capital. The Roman state was concerned with the security of commerce. Thus, Cicero (*Pro Lege Manilia* 5.1) suggests that «Our forefathers often undertook wars to defend our merchants or ship-masters against any high-handed treatment...» (Hodge). A Greek inscription (*SEG* III 378) from Delphi dated

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to c. 100 BCE records a decree made in response to a deputation from Rhodes to Rome. It is required that all states take steps to «ensure that citizens of Rome and her Latin allies from Italy can conduct their business which is necessary in safety among the eastern cities and islands, and can sail safely on the sea in their ships» (Lomas 1996: 66). Elsewhere we find that «The provincial governor must make it a matter of especial concern that no one be prevented from carrying on any lawful business...» (Ulpian, *Digest* I 18.6.4; Watson). Of critical importance, Roman law recognized bargaining and freedom of contract (Wacke 1993). Thus, it is stated that «The nature of sale and purchase allowed buying for less what is worth more and selling for more what is worth less, the reciprocal of taking advantage...» (Paul, *Digest* XIX 2.22.3; Watson).

Notwithstanding these essential ingredients, many ancient scholars believe that the Roman economy was 'primitive'. It is quite true that recent years have witnessed a growing trend in favor of Roman economic growth. Papyrological scholars including van Minnen (2000) and Tacoma (2006: esp. 77-88) have played a leading role in contesting the older 'orthodox' primitivist perspective. Nevertheless, in my judgment, primitivism has not yet been dealt with in a definitive manner. But what is 'primitivism'?

Pleket (1988: 25), no primitivist himself, has usefully summarized the primitive dimensions of ancient economies as follows:

[Such economies are] characterized by an absolute predominance of agriculture, and underdevelopment of interregional commerce and of production of goods catering for such a commerce, a corresponding high social status for wealthy landowners and low social status for craftsmen, traders and merchants, and a host of what I now for the sake of brevity subsume under the heading 'infra-structural weakness': banking, shipping, commercial law, law of agencies, primitive agricultural techniques and systems, ideology of labour and technology, all culminating into a view of the ancient world as essentially growthless and static, economically, demographically and socially.

Pleket (1988: 29) elaborates that

One of the main theses of the primitivists is that the economic system of the [Roman] Empire did not constitute 'a conglomerate of interdependent markets'. In other words: the Empire was seen as consisting predominantly of a sheer endless number of small local markets, comprising a town and its immediate countryside.

The primitivist view has been strongly stated and championed by Jongman. For example, Jongman (1988: 24) sees no «obvious indication of

sustained increases in national income,» much less in per capita income. He adds «And of course, ultimately the Roman economy went into serious decline...» Jongman (1988: 200) also points to the «static nature of the ancient society» and, if I understand him correctly, he maintains that by the early Imperial period the Roman economy had reached its inherent limits¹.

Jongman (2000: 271) also insists that «since [the Roman] people lived so close to bare subsistence, an estimate of what was needed just to survive provides a good approximation of the actual consumption patterns of the mass of the population». Paterson (2001: 374), along the same line, approaches a zero-sum game formulation in his suggestion that «An increase in the export of a good from one region is likely to be largely balanced by a decline in the export of similar goods from another region». He adds that «economic growth is not reflected primarily in significant increase in personal wealth among the people as a whole, but in an increase in population» (Paterson 2001: 375). Scheidel (2006a: 42-45), who accepts the notion of Roman economic growth, cites similarly bleak assessments of living standards. In short, there is a perception among a significant group of scholars that the typical Roman lived at a ‘subsistence’ level and that Rome did not experience meaningful economic growth. Before examining and explaining the origins of the primitivist (or minimalist) perception, let us consider some evidence.

EVIDENCE FOR ROMAN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND LIVING STANDARDS

Facts about economic growth and about levels and trends in Roman living standards are not easily available. In a relatively nuanced

¹ More recently, Jongman (2002a: 33) has spoken of the Roman Empire’s «lack of modernization. The Roman world did not have an industrial revolution; instead it fell». Whittaker (1994: 235) stresses the role of the (allegedly) regressive nature of Roman taxation in causing economic decline and generalized poverty under the Empire: «There was quite simply no fiscal mechanism for the redistribution of wealth, as in modern states, with the result that progressively and inexorably riches became concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer persons. This is undoubtedly one reason, although not the only one, why we have an increasing number of references in late antiquity to the vast wealth of landowners like the Melanias or Petronius Probus. And with such inequality went a diminishing purchasing power of the poor». Whittaker’s assertions about the distribution of wealth cannot be supported with evidence. Moreover, he completely ignores “bread and circuses” — most obviously, the emperor’s huge distributions of tax and purchased grain and other commodities to urban populations.

statement, Saller (2002: 265) grants that there was technical progress in the Roman urban sector and this «certainly did improve living standards and that fact should be taken into account in assessing economic growth». However, Saller (2002: 265) continues as follows:

It is generally agreed that the urban population constituted no more than 20% of the population. It follows that if the productivity and living standard of the urban minority increased as much as 50% over several centuries, (say, 100 BCE to CE 200), that would constitute growth of only 10% for the Empire as a whole, spread over three centuries — that is, much less than 0.1% per year.

Even this trivial growth rate, Saller (2002: 265) adds, is «too generous» because «much of the urban population remained underemployed and at bare subsistence (as in Third World economies today)»².

The problem here is that despite the use of numbers, these are assumptions, not facts. More concretely, in Saller's picture, productivity did not increase at all in the rural sector. The latter primarily engaged in 'agriculture' — that is, the cultivation, processing and transport of agricultural commodities. (It is well to remember, however, that such important pottery products as bricks, tiles, and amphorae were produced in the rural sector.) The reference here, I suspect, is to a 'model' of 'traditional' agriculture, not to reality. Saller (2002: 263) explains that

In some regions of the Empire, there was agricultural investment in the sense of extending cultivation, including specialized crops for the market. This would have increased aggregate production, and to a lesser extent per capita production. But limits were reached in the absence of major improvements. The willingness of Roman landowners to invest more intensively was limited.

Of course, investment as an economic variable requires scarce resources and is always 'limited'. Actually, there is reason to believe that Rome's agricultural sector was more dynamic than its urban sector.

Saller's assumption about agricultural investment contrasts sharply with the findings of scholars, who have, for example, studied the Empire's export-oriented production of wine/olive oil. In this important case, there is evidence of growth in the capital stock as well as technological/agro-nomic improvements, which further increased output. Thus, Morley (1996: 117) reports:

² To make matters worse, 'subsistence' is sometimes identified with 'inequality' (Jongman 1988: 16, 25, 154, 192).

As for processing, the Roman world did in fact see improvements in the design of oil and wine presses between 150 B.C. and A.D. 50. Wine presses were made more efficient with a change from ropes and levers to the screw press, an innovation which Pliny dates to «within the last hundred years», with a further refinement «within the last twenty». Columella talks of the superiority of the oil mill over the oil press or *trapetum*, which is the only kind mentioned by Cato. (cf. Greene 2000: 35; Rossiter 1981: 353-354, 358-359)

Mattingly (1996: 590) suggests that although the direct screw press was not widely adopted in North Africa, the windlass-operated presses «were in a constant state of technological evolution, aimed at improving their efficiency and, perhaps above all, their productive capacity».

There were major investments in olive trees and vine stock, slaves, kilns, crushers, and other capital equipment (Rossiter 1981: 348-351; Rathbone 1981; Purcell 1985). Cato, for example, took the trouble to have an olive-crusher (*trapetum*) weighing as much as 3,000 pounds shipped to his estate by ox-team wagon from Pompeii some one hundred miles away. Moreover, to facilitate export, owners of Roman villas invested in the building of roads to link their farms with existing roads (Laurence 1998: 140-143). There was openness to new methods (e.g. growing vines without support) and a consciousness of economic trade-offs between quality and quantity (Purcell 1985: 4, 17-18). Suetonius notes that Q. Remmius Palaemon, a former slave, earned notice as an expert viticulturist because «a vine which he grafted himself yielded three hundred and sixty bunches of grapes» (*De Grammaticis* 23; Rolfe). Mattingly (1996: 581), speaking of Roman North Africa, notes many establishments with «multiple presses (three or more) ... and the plans of these 'oileries' are suggestive of serialisation of design (both inter- and intra-site) — indicative of a high level of capital investment in olive production». The archaeological evidence leads Mattingly (1996: 581) to conclude that this region «stands out as one of the most intensive olive producing regions in the ancient world, with large-scale investment made in both orchards and processing facilities».

The growing sophistication and commercialization of the wine/oil trade is reflected in the legal sources, as Paterson (1998: 153-155) shows. The law relating to relations between landlords and tenants also adapted to economic change (see Frier 1979, esp. 226-227). The economic rationality of the wine/oil enterprise is well illustrated by a passage in the *De Re Rustica* of Columella (III 3.8-11) which dates to the first century CE:

but I, disagreeing with the opinion of the majority, consider a high-priced vinedresser of first importance. And supposing his purchase price to be 6000 or, better, 8000 sesterces, when I estimate the seven iugera of ground as acquired for just as many thousands of sesterces, and that the vineyards with their dowry — that is, with stakes and withes — are set out for 2000 sesterces per iugerum, still the total cost, reckoned to the last farthing, amounts to 29,000 sesterces. Added to this is interest at six per cent per annum, amounting to 3480 sesterces for the two-year period when the vineyards, in their infancy as it were, are delayed in bearing. The sum total of principal and interest comes to 32,480 sesterces. And if the husbandman would enter this amount as a debt against his vineyards just as a moneylender does with a debtor, so that the owner may realize the aforementioned six per cent. interest on that total as a perpetual annuity, he should take in 1950 sesterces every year. By this reckoning the return from seven iugera, even according to the estimate of Graecinus, exceeds the interest on 32,480 sesterces. For, assuming that the vineyards are of the very worst sort, still, if taken care of, they will yield certainly one culleus of wine to the iugerum; and even though every forty urns are sold for 300 sesterces, which is the lower market price, nevertheless seven cullei make a total of 2100 sesterces — a sum far in excess of the interest at six per cent. And these figures, as we have given them, take account of the calculations of Graecinus. But our own opinion is that vineyards which yield less than three cullei to the iugerum should be rooted out. And, even so, we have made our calculations up to this point as if there were no quicksets to be taken from the trenched ground; though this item alone, at a favourable price, would clear the entire cost of the land, if only the land belongs, not to the provinces, but to Italy. (Ash)

As Temin (2004: 719) points out, «Columella clearly understood that investors need to think about the cost of invested funds, whether borrowed or not». The investors included members of Rome's leading families. Arthur (1995: 242) explains that «Research in the rich lands around the ager Falernus, where many prime vineyards were sited, has yielded names of many of these late Republican landed proprietors, including Caesar and various other contemporary notables such as Lepta, Macula and L. Quinctius». Purcell (1985: 10) sees an awakening of interest in viticulture in senatorial circles beginning in the Augustan period.

We are speaking here of an important export industry which (in Italy) required the import of numerous, costly skilled slaves (Silver 2006a). Besides central Italy and Italy's Adriatic coast, significant oil/wine export industries later developed in the provinces, especially Gaul, Baetica, and North Africa (Blázquez 1992; Haley 2003; Silver 2006a; Woolf 2001). Possible evidence of Italian direct investment in Gaul is provided by the

establishment in the late second half of the first century of kiln sites for the production of the characteristic Dressel 1A wine amphora (Arthur 1995: 242). The emergence of new centers of production beginning with Italy provided a continuing stimulus to economic growth from the second century BCE into the mid-third century CE. This is not simply a case of one stimulus replacing another. Italian exports may or may not have decreased (Ward-Perkins 2005: 185, Fig. A.1; Purcell 1985: 9-10; Tchernia cited by Whittaker 1987: 114) but it is not at all clear that total production of wine/oil declined as a result of foreign competition. Surely, some consumers chose western wines (or other Italian wines) instead of the Campanian. There was, however, growth in some newer markets (e.g. Britain) for Italian products (Arthur 1995: 244-245). Further, documentary evidence shows that Italian wines were being exported to Egypt as late as the third century CE (Rathbone 1983: 93-94).

More importantly, with rising incomes the total consumption of wine was increasing (Purcell 1985: 16). Indeed, as a 'luxury good' spending on wine probably increased as a percentage of total consumption expenditures. There was also an expansion in the production and consumption of lower quality wines. Beginning in the first century CE, Roman cities developed a «vigorous drinking-place culture» (Purcell 1985: 14). Wine-shops flourished. Moreover, wine is not wine and affluent consumers may well have desired to experience both the Falernian and the wines of the western provinces (cf. Purcell 1985: 10). Purcell (1985: 19) concludes: «The period from Augustus to Hadrian saw in Italy and Narbonensis some of the most creative agricultural developments attested from antiquity; if these were not confined to viticulture they were, however, most spectacular in that field. There was no crisis; rather these were years of boom».

Mt. Testaccio, 'Pottery Mountain', on the Tiber River near Rome, which is made from discarded transport amphorae, provides a truly imposing monument to the quantitative importance of the wine/oil trade. It has been estimated that the dump contains remains of more than 50 million amphorae. (That is, about 35,000 shiploads for the smallest cargo ship.) The amphorae, dated mainly to the second and third centuries CE, contained some 1.5 billion gallons of oil/wine which were imported to Rome mostly from Baetica (and North Africa) (Ward-Perkins 2005: 91-92).

A rough index of the growth of the oil/wine industry is provided by the number of dated shipwrecks, mostly near the coasts of Italy, France, and Spain. With respect to the size of the wrecks,

it appears that one can distinguish three classes: (1) the smallest, with under 75 tons of cargo or 1500 amphoras — the commonest kind, found in all periods; (2) a medium range, with a cargo weighing 75-200 tons, or 2000-3000 amphoras — within the period 1st century BC-3d century AD; (3) the largest, with a cargo of over 250 tons, or more than 6000 amphoras — mostly of the late Republican period... (Parker 1992: 26)

The number of wrecks from the period 200 BCE — 200 CE (about 670) is four times greater than the number from the period 600 BCE — 200 BCE (about 160)³. How many ships were involved in the trade during the peak centuries? Writing in 2005, de Callataÿ (2005: 369) noted the discovery of new wrecks at a rate of 50 per year. Nevertheless, let us assume that all the wrecks have been discovered. What was the rate of loss? In England's dangerous East India trade in the early eighteenth century the East India Company lost 10 percent annually of its tonnage. Later in Victorian times the rate of loss was about 5 percent (Scammell 1972: 404). Applying these loss-rates to the 670 discovered wrecks, the number of ships in the wine/oil trade was 6,700 or 13,400. Realistically, these numbers are gross understatements.

Juvenal (*Satires* XIV 256-284), writing in the late first–early second century CE, provides a literary tribute to the scope of the Roman wine trade:

One skips along the rope with wavering tread (dangerous dexterity!), which brings him bread. T'other risks life for wealth too vast to spend. Farm joined to farm, and villas without end. Lo, every harbour thronged and every bay and half mankind upon the watery way! For where he hears the attractive voice of gain, the merchant hurries and defies the main. Nor will he only range the Libyan shore, but, passing Calpe [Gibraltar] other worlds explore. (Gifford and Warrington)

How much did agricultural productivity increase in the Roman empire as a whole? One may cite only possibilities or potentialities. Romanists frequently employ pre-industrial values as proxies for unavailable Roman variables⁴. Pre-industrial England experienced an interlude between 1660

³ Sources for shipwrecks: de Callataÿ (2005: 369-370); Hopkins (1980: 105-106); Parker (1992). In judging trends in shipping it is important to note that the presence of pottery and marble makes Roman era shipwrecks easier to find than earlier ones (Walter Scheidel, personal correspondence dated January 14, 2007).

⁴ See Harris (2006: 8, 21). Note concerning the use of pre-industrial data some remarks of Pleket (1998: 119 n. 9): «Hopkins writes that “strictly speaking comparative data show only what was possible in other societies, not what happened in Rome”. I prefer another approach: comparative history shows what happened in other pre-industrial societies, which

and 1740 in which per capita agricultural production is estimated to have grown by about 0.32 percent per year (Jackson 1985: 346). This growth rate was achieved before the Industrial Revolution and I see no a priori grounds for excluding it as possible estimate for Rome. For the sake of argument, assume that the Empire's agricultural productivity and living standard increased by 0.16 percent per year over Saller's three centuries, not even by 0.32 percent. Then, using Saller's estimates for urbanization and his arbitrary(?) number for urban productivity growth, Rome's annual growth rate would be about 0.13 percent per year. This cautious guess compares unfavorably to the prosperous Netherlands' growth rate in per capita GDP of 0.28 percent per year over the period 1500 to 1820. On the other hand, it is in the ballpark of the corresponding West European rate of 0.14 (Maddison 2003: 263, Table 8b).

In short, Saller has told us that Roman economic growth did not achieve the sustained growth rates of contemporary economies. Saller has not demonstrated that the Roman Empire's growth rate was historically trivial and that its living standards had to stagnate. Just as importantly, *a nation's growth rate tells us very little about its current standard of living*⁵. In cross-country studies for contemporary times, the simple correlation between the growth rate in real per capita GDP over a period of years and real per capita GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in the starting year is close to zero.

Haley's (2003: Chap. 7) detailed study of Roman Baetica in southern Spain found substantial growth in per capita income from about 25 BCE to 170 CE. This economic growth can be directly linked to commercialization. Indeed, by the end of this period a 'middle stratum' consisting of a 'substantial minority' of the population enjoyed a living standard many times the subsistence level as measured by the cost of an annual ration

produced more pieces of evidence, and what may well have happened in the Roman Empire, since the Roman evidence shares some important 'pieces' with later periods and the missing pieces may therefore, grosso modo, be supplemented from those periods. The important 'pieces' concern problems such as agricultural production and productivity, stability, growth or decline of population, the level of urbanization (number and size of cities), specialization in crafts and 'technological' development, the relative importance of local, regional and interregional markets, and regional specialization, to mention only the most important elements of a pre-industrial economy» (cf. Erdkamp 1999: 572).

⁵ To illustrate, over the period 1973-2001 the growth rate in real per capita GDP for China was 5.32% and for the United States it was 1.86%. In 1973 real per capita GDP was \$839 in China and \$16,689 in the United States. Source: Maddison (2003: 262-263, Tables 8c-8b).

of grain. Of course, Haley's study is limited to Baetica and his assumptions and conjectures can be questioned at many points but they do not seem to be utterly implausible (Grantham 2004).

A rough index of the Roman Empire's potential living standard may be calculated by comparing its subsistence Gross Domestic Product (SGDP) with its actual GDP (AGDP). Hopkins (2002: 197-99) calculated SGDP by estimating the cost of subsistence food plus seed for the Empire's population of 60 million. His estimate of SGDP is roughly HS 9,000 million. Hopkins (2002: 200-01) believes that AGDP is about a third or a half-higher than this SGDP. It is possible to make a direct (but very rough) calculation of AGDP by using the 'equation of exchange': $MV = Py$ (or AGDP). In this equation, M is the total Roman coinage; V is the income velocity — that is, the number of times the average coin is spent in income generating transactions in a year (in practice the ratio of GDP to M); P is the price level; and y is real output. Py (= AGDP) is the nominal value of GDP. Duncan Jones (1994: 170) estimates that M (coinage) is HS 20,517 million in the mid-second century CE. (The possible use of uncoined bullion is not taken into account [but see Harris 2006: 3-4]; neither is the conceivable use of demand deposits [see Harris 2006].) The Roman data do not permit calculation of V ⁶. In my judgment the best and most objective solution to this problem is to employ data from another pre-industrial European economy as a proxy. Possible objections will be taken into account below, however.

For pre-industrial England, the values of V (estimated as a residual) are as follows: 5.178 (1300), 3.889 (1470), 3.571 (1526), 5.517 (1546), 9.310 (1561), 6.286 (1600), 3.5 (1643), 3.407 (1670), and 3.448 (1700) (Mayhew 1995: 244, Table 1, discussed 239-41). The median value of V is 3.889. Using Mayhew's median, the Empire's AGDP is HS 79,791 million. That is, the actual GDP is some nine times greater than subsistence GDP. In the event that a miniscule 'elite' claimed as much as 90 percent of the 'surplus' (above subsistence) GDP, the income of the general population would still be roughly 80 percent above subsistence.

I can see no reason to believe that estimated AGDP is (statistically speaking) an upward biased estimator of true (population) AGDP. However, one may challenge (or even reject) every number in these calculations. Most importantly, surviving Roman census tallies raise the possibility that the

⁶ Hollander (2002: 232-268) discusses the Roman demand for money but produces no quantitative estimates.

Empire's population is much more numerous than 60 million (Hopkins 2002: 201-202; Scheidel 2006b: 8-9; Kron 2005). The implications of a 'high count' may be explored by raising the estimate of total population by 60 percent. In this case, SGDP rises to about HS 14,400 million but AGDP is still 5.5 times greater.

The estimate of the coinage supply, which depends on an estimate of average die productivity, has been challenged⁷. For example, Howgego (1992: 209) notes that

The scale of extrapolation in the calculations is staggering. A die study of 638 coins of Hadrian becomes the basis in absolute terms for an estimate of the money supply of the Roman Empire. We miss a clear statement of what the author [Duncan-Jones] believes to be his margins for error, and a full assessment of the biases inherent in the survival and publication of evidence. Published coin hoards simply do not give a fair reflection of the regional availability of money in antiquity.

It is not clear to me whether Howgego and other critics believe that Duncan-Jones has over- or underestimated the coinage supply. (See in this connection de Callatay's [1995: 305-306] defense of the use of averages.) Neither do the critics provide a kind of implicit statistical confidence interval for his estimate — i.e. a plus-or-minus error of (say) 20% (cf. Harris 2006: 21). On a more positive note, Lockyear (1999) suggests that the errors in the die estimates may cancel each other out over the whole series. That is, the errors are distributed randomly. Jongman (2003: 186) cites the literature and points to problems with Duncan-Jones' number but he is willing to work with the assumption that the estimate of coinage is «roughly right». So am I. In the absence of evidence of systematic bias and a confidence interval, I will leave the coinage estimate alone. Specifically, I would oppose reducing the estimate on the ground that it is high in per capita terms relative to later pre-industrial economies. First, the estimate of *M* is grounded in Roman evidence. Second, the size of the Roman population is itself subject to debate (see above). Third, the relationship between liquidity and the supply of coinage is actually rather complex (see below). The reader is free to experiment with other values for total coinage.

⁷ For discussion and citations, see: Duncan-Jones (1997; 1999); Hollander (2002: 34-39); Hopkins (2002: 201-203); Howgego (1992, 1996); Jongman (2003: 185-186). More recent die studies by William Metcalf may cast doubt on the estimates of Duncan-Jones (Walter Scheidel, personal correspondence dated January 14, 2007).

My proxy estimate of V is of course problematic. Duncan-Jones (1994: 172-192) has provided evidence from coin hoards that might be understood to mean that Rome's V was historically low. For example, he notes that Roman coins mostly stayed in the region where they were originally disbursed. (A finding questioned by Howgego 1994: 15-16.) Immobility of this kind is not, however, conclusive with respect to the value of V . The basic point is that inter-regional transactions need not be reflected in the physical movement of coins. This is neatly illustrated by Scaevola (active about 80-160 CE) (*Digest* XL 1.122.1; 533 CE) wherein a merchant borrows money in Beirut to purchase a cargo for sale in Brindisi (southern Italy). The receipts from the Brindisi sale were to be used to purchase a new cargo to be sold in Beirut. Here we find a good deal of trade with no movement of coins. Indeed, Duncan-Jones (2001:75; cf. 1990: 42), citing Scaevola, notes that «historical evidence often suggests that long-distance trade need not generate long distance transfers of coin». Duncan-Jones (1994: 180 n.1) is, moreover, aware of the difference between physical movement of coin and the economist's concept of velocity. The significance of this distinction needs to be explored.

Howgego (1994: 7) has pointed out:

The money raised from the sale of a cargo, would, for preference, have been used to purchase another profitable cargo for the onward voyage... Nor is it true that if there was an imbalance of trade between two areas, money would have to move, sooner or later, at least to cover the imbalance. That mechanism is commonly accepted by historians of the Middle Ages, but does not hold true for the Roman world. As alternatives to the movement of money, such an imbalance might be offset by changes in the ownership of property in the region with a negative balance of trade, or by receipts of another kind... In addition, the élite, at least, had mechanisms for the transfer of money which did not involve the physical movement of coin or bullion⁸.

Howgego's final point is of special importance for an understanding of income velocity in Rome.

⁸ Howgego's suggestion that Roman international trade did not necessarily (or usually) involve the movement of coins finds support in shipwreck evidence cited by Harris (2006: 4 with n. 27): «Parker's catalogue lists about 674, mostly commercial, shipwrecks of the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 200, and in about 150 cases we have extensive information about the ship's contents (though never, presumably, information of guaranteed completeness). Not one of these wrecks, unlike some late antique ones, has ever so far produced 'hoards' of coins large enough to suggest that big cargoes were paid for in cash ... [There are] three counter-examples from the fourth century [and] two intermediary cases date from after A.D. 290...».

Rome had institutions making possible the settlement of debts without the physical transfer of coins (see generally Harris 2006: esp. 2-4, 8-17). Howgego (1995: 90) notes that «maritime loans taken out in one place might be repaid in another (*Dig. XLV 1.122* [Scaevola]) for a hypothetical loan at Berytus in Lebanon which might be repaid in Syria [see above]; Casson 1990 [*P. Vindob. Gr.* 40822] for an actual loan contracted in India and repaid in Alexandria». Perhaps not so «hypothetical». Sirks (2002: 149), citing implicit references to the sailing season, maintains that the Scaevola text is not «an academic example but a case drawn from life». In Howgego's second example, goods purchased in India for sale in Alexandria secured the loan. However, the loan may have been drawn up in Alexandria rather than in India (Muziris). Roman *argentarii* received money for making payments in Athens and drew bills payable by a banker in that city. This practice called *permutatio* is attested in Cicero (*Ad Atticum* XII 24, 27; XV 15). Temin (2004: 724) cites a document from Egypt dated to 155 CE, which *possibly* involves a transfer from a bank in the Fayum to an Alexandrian bank with the shipment of coins.

The desire to avoid the risk of transport by ship (*vecturae periculum*) is clearly reflected in Cicero's correspondence (*Ad Atticum* XII 24.1): «About Marcus [Cicero's son], the time seems to have come. But I am wondering whether his allowance can be paid in Athens by bill of exchange or whether he must take it with him...» (Bailey). Atticus found a Greek way to transfer the money to Marcus (Andreau 1999: 20-21 with n. 43). The origins of this practice are no doubt somewhat earlier than the first century BCE (Andreau 1999: 132). Indeed, already in the earlier second century BCE, the fungibility of money deposits in Roman banks is demonstrated by passages in Plautus, Terence, and Polybius that refer to the use of paper transfers (Barlow 1978: 77-78; Andreau 1999: 43-45, 58). In Terence's *Phormio* (920-924), bank accounts, deposits, and transfers are referred to in technical language: *rescribere* and *discribere* (Barsby 2001: 120 n. 67). Howgego (1992: 29) adds that «Some of the [Roman] élite... were able to draw on their own influence and widespread interests, or on those of their peers, to transfer moneys» and, in turn, they may have made informal commercial facilities «available further down the social scale» (cf. Rauh 1989: 72-76). The Roman world knew deposit banking and fractional reserves. 'Irregular' or 'non-sealed' deposits were a significant asset of the Roman *argentarii* 'deposit banks' (Andreau 1999: 40). The *argentarius* might pay interest on deposits (*creditum*) which he invested or let

out again at a higher interest rate. Suetonius (*Augustus* 39) reveals that Augustus reprimanded some members of the elite «because they had borrowed money at low interest and invested it at a higher rate» (Rolfe). Andreau (2000: 772) notes that by the second century CE the functions of the *nummularii* were the same in the whole empire, including «the granting of loans, particularly using deposited money...» Frederiksen (1975: 167-168) develops this theme and cites numerous sources.

As economists Bordo and Jonung (2004: 25) explain (following Wick-sell): «Thus the growth of substitutes for metallic currency implies that a given amount of hard cash can form the basis for a larger volume of transactions than previously was the case». At the limit, the coins are 'immobilized' in hoards/deposits and the public uses only ledger-transfers. A related point is that reliance on ledger-transfers lowers the 'wastage' rate of coins and, hence, lowers their rate of physical movement ('circulation speed'/'velocity of circulation') without lowering V (see Duncan-Jones 1994: 192, 212; compare de Callataÿ 1995: 303 n. 92).

The attested ability of Romans to transfer money by means of payment orders or ledger entries and the transactional use of deposits by bankers operated to raise V in comparison to pre-modern economies with less well-articulated financial institutions. The use of the *perscriptio* a '(non-transmissible) check' in Roman times is attested in Israel and Egypt (Andreau 1999: 42). Unfortunately, the importance of these transfer options cannot be even roughly quantified. Further, it is difficult to compare Roman practices with thirteenth century Europe. Judging by Spufford's (1988: chap. 6) (nonquantitative) discussion, in later times silver typically moved to settle regional imbalances in the balance of payments. On the other hand, Spufford's (1988: 254-260) (nonquantitative) discussion of Europe's «commercial revolution of the thirteenth century» does not, as I read it, demonstrate that Europe's financial institutions were well articulated.

Jongman (2003: 191) has sought to explain Rome's relatively large coinage supply with the argument that «an important reason for rich Romans to hold large reserves in cash was the need to alleviate the complexities and unpredictability of property transfers from one generation to the next» (cf. Wiedemann 2003: 17-19). Jongman is implicitly suggesting that V was historically low in Rome. Also, some scholars might interpret the findings of Duncan-Jones regarding the immobility of Roman coinage as being consistent with a low V . Given the uncertainty it is helpful to consider what happens to the estimate of AGDP when differently derived values for V -are employed.

First, at the risk of plunging from frying pan into fire, we may calculate V for Hellenistic Mesopotamia by relying on Aperghis' (2001) estimates of the relevant macroeconomic variables. Aperghis' estimates are as follows: (1) total annual agricultural production, 10,000 talents; (2) total population, 5-6 million; (3) total coinage, 1-2,000 talents per million inhabitants; (4) percentage of urban population, 50 percent or more (based on site surveys in southern Mesopotamia). I assume a population of 5.5 million and a coinage supply per million population of 1,500 talents to arrive at a figure of 8,250 talents for total coinage. Next, it is necessary to estimate the total urban production of goods and services. A minimal kind of estimate is to assume that it is 10,000 talents — that is, equal to agricultural production. However, the 50 percent of the population residing in urban areas include 'rentiers', not engaged in the production of urban goods and services. I estimate this group to represent 25 percent of the urban population (compare Aperghis 2001: 85-86). Hence, my estimate of annual urban production is reduced by 25 percent to 7,500 talents. Dividing the estimated GDP of 17,500 talents by the estimated money supply of 8,250 talents the calculated value of V is 2.1. Applying this value for V to the Roman data makes the AGDP equal to 4.7 times SGDP ('low estimate' of population) or 3.0 times SGDP ('high estimate' of population).

Another (safer?) approach is simply to apply a very low historically attested value for V . The lowest V I have seen is 1.15 for Denmark in 1906. (Craig and Fisher 2000: 287, Table 11.3)⁹. (It is difficult to think of a lower V unless the average coin went directly from mint to hoard, without first 'passing Go'!) Using this historically low value for V makes AGDP 2.6 times SGDP ('low estimate' of population) or 1.6 times SGDP ('high estimate' of population).

These results lend no support to the frequently stated view that the typical Roman lived at or close to a subsistence level. Indeed, Roman economic performance looks much better than primitivists have assumed. Other evidence points in the same direction.

⁹ Bordo and Jonung (1987, 1990) have argued that V will follow a U-shaped path over time. Declining velocity is explained by 'monetization' — that is, the growth of the monetary economy at the expense of barter and production for own use increases the demand for holding money (cf. Hopkins 1980: 109). Rising velocity is explained by the emergence of financial assets that substitute for money and lower the demand for holding money. In this paper, we seek only a ballpark estimate of V for the Roman Empire.

Fragmentary, but useful quantitative material on wages and living costs are available for Roman Egypt in the second century CE. These long-available data were summarized by the expert statistician Colin Clark (1957: 659, 662, 678). They suggest that the full-time earnings of a skilled worker amounted to 1,200 drachmai per year (4 drachmai per day and 300 working days). At the same time, the estimated minimum cost of living for a family of four was at most 520 drachmai per year (130 drachmai per adult). Thus, about 60 percent of potential earnings remained after deducting minimum expenditures. The corresponding residual for an unskilled household is roughly 50 percent (based on Clark 1957: 678, Table VII).

Note might also be taken of Roman census wealth classifications and the scale of Caesar's rent remittance, both of which are consistent with Scheidel's (2006c: 17) view that the living standards of 'many' ordinary Romans were well above a poverty level. There is also indirect evidence for rising living standards. For example, Scheidel (2006c: 15) cites archaeological evidence of steep increases in meat consumption which, as is well understood by historians of nutrition, rises with income (Silver 1983: 92-94). Wallace-Hadrill (1990: 192), considering evidence for Pompeii, attempts to provide quantitative substance for an «explosion» of new fashions in domestic luxury¹⁰. Rauh (2004) sees the numerous imitations of internationally traded ceramic wares in regions such as Rough Cilicia as indexes of unprecedented material prosperity of the masses during the Early Roman period.

Finally, as Temin (2006: 135) has noted, urbanization is often used as an index of per capita income in studies of more recent centuries. Temin assumes (with Hopkins) that Italy was about 30 percent urbanized in the early Roman Empire. The suggestion is that Roman Italy's GDP per capita «was between that in 1700 in the Netherlands [38.9%] and Italy [22.6%] or Spain [20.3%], the most advanced European economies a century before the Industrial Revolution» (Temin 2006: 135 with n. 3; the

¹⁰ Some Greek evidence might also be of interest. Morris (2005: 123) has estimated that median Greek house sizes increased steeply — perhaps some five- or six-fold — between 800 and 300 BCE: «This represents a dramatic improvement in the standard of living, particularly when we factor in improvements in construction, drainage, and illumination. Fourth-century Greek houses were large and quite comfortable, even by the standards of developed countries in the early twenty-first century. It is hard to say how well furnished they were, but the impression (presently it can be little more than that) is that classical household goods were far richer than those of archaic times. Again, a five- or six-fold increase may not be far from the mark».

numbers in brackets are percentages urban). The index of per capita income for the entire Roman Empire, assuming 20 percent urbanized with Saller, is comparable to Italy and Spain. (Hopkins (2002: 200) suggests that urbanization was 10-20 percent of the population.) Temin (2006: 136) notes that «conventional views set the urbanization rate in the whole Empire around 10 percent». This percentage would place the Empire between Germany (7.7%) and the U.K. (11.8%). (Craig and Fisher 2000: 115). The point remains that the urbanization index makes Roman per capita incomes comparable to those in late seventeenth century Europe.

To return to the central issue. I would agree with Saller (2002: 260) that Rome did not sustain the growth rates characteristic of contemporary economies. (The reasons for this are discussed below.) This is important but will not surprise most scholars. As Pleket (1988: 29) noted some time ago:

In the present state of scholarship the question is no longer whether or not the preindustrial Roman economy resembles modern industrial capitalistic economy — it does not —, but rather how it is to be assessed in relation to the economic systems of Medieval and Ancient Régime Europe.

This is not at all to say, however, that growth was trivial or nonexistent or that Roman living standards were typically at bare subsistence. Based on evidence of dramatic changes in production and economic organization I would not be surprised if Rome experienced intervals as long as a century during which per capita income grew by as much as 0.5 percent per year. I should add that I have reservations, expressed below, about the usefulness of per capita income as an index of ancient living standards. To be frank, however, I have not seen any productivity numbers reliable enough for the construction of a truly credible index of economic growth.

‘INFRA-STRUCTURAL WEAKNESS’?

1. *Banking and Capital Markets*

Examples of the complexity of Rome’s financial and commercial institutions were earlier provided in the discussion of the determinants of the velocity of coinage. Recall specifically the discussion of deposit bankers. As Temin (2004) has noted, deposit banks are specialized institutions that

promote growth and raise living standards by mediating between spenders/borrowers and savers/lenders. They lower transaction costs by obviating the need for direct contacts between the two groups. Indeed, the presence of a banking system may reasonably be viewed as a benchmark in determining the sophistication of financial markets. This level of credit intermediation was certainly well represented at Rome.

How effectively did Roman banks channel savings into consumption and investment? It is not possible to answer this question in a definitive manner. I do, however, disagree, with an argument put forward by Verboven concerning bank reserves. Verboven (2006) notes a passage in the *Digest* (Ulpian, XVI 3.2) wherein a depositor closes his bank account and withdraws 386,000 sesterces plus accumulated interest. He (Verboven 2006) comments: «Obviously, under these conditions, the amount of money deposit bankers could take out of deposits to extend loans at interest was limited. Large cash reserves had to be kept ready at hand». I must disagree. The withdrawal of deposits, large and small, is commonplace in contemporary deposit banks. Withdrawals do not limit the ability of banks to extend loans except by comparison with the extreme case in which deposits are never withdrawn. Further, judging by the payment of interest, the deposit was likely either a savings deposit, which would be returnable only after due notice, or a time deposit with a predetermined maturity date. I do not believe that an inference can be made from the *Digest* example that Roman banks had to hold an extremely high percentage of their deposits in reserve. Indeed, the fact that Romans were willing to trust deposit banks with such large sums, even if they sometimes withdrew them, testifies to the health of banks and to their loan-generating capacity.

There is evidence that Roman banks and other visibly active credit intermediaries made loans to businesses. In the first century, Seneca (*Ad Lucilium* 119.1-2) advises:

I shall lead you by a short cut to the greatest riches. It will be necessary, however, for you to find a loan. In order to be able to do business you must contract a debt, although I do not wish you to arrange the loan through a middleman [*intercessor*], nor do I wish the brokers [*proxenetae*] to be discussing your rating (Gummere).

The translation probably does not do justice to the specialized role of the «middleman» and the «brokers» (see Verboven 2006). However, it is clear enough that the Roman credit market was willing to grant business loans. Plutarch mentions taking loans to purchase vineyards and

olive groves (*Moralia* 523f). (The remarks of Columella (III 3.8-11) cited earlier, demonstrate economic sophistication in considering the opportunity cost of capital but do not directly attest to the taking of loans to finance investments in viticulture.) The lecturer Dio Chrysostom (46.9, 47.21), a contemporary of Plutarch, had the collection of rent in mind when he borrowed funds to construct a kind of shopping area near the baths of Prusa (Bithynia). Legal references in the *Digest*, cited by Andreau (1999: 148), «refer to cases where loans were contracted with the objective of buying some land, repairing a ship, feeding sailors or purchasing merchandise» [Ulpian, *Digest* XII 1.4; *Digest* XIV 1.8, 11; Africanus, XIV 1.7]. A slave borrowed money in order to run an oil business [Ulpian, *Digest* XIV 3.13]. An inscription from Ephesus dated to 85 BCE mentions «The lenders of money upon bottomry loans, notes, deposits, mortgages, supplementary pledges, tax contracts, agreements, drafts and loans...» (Broughton 1938: 560).

The archives (from Murecine very close to Pompeii) of the Sulpicii, a lending firm (possibly a bank) operating in Puteoli in the first half of the first century CE, reveal that most of their borrowers were merchants in long distance maritime commerce (Verboven 2003: 16, 2006; Rowe 2002a). In one text (*TPSulp* 66), the proceeds of a loan of HS 3,000 are referred to as «profit of the verdigris», a green pigment (Rowe 2002b). In some cases the borrowers offered as security large quantities of traded goods such as wheat (13,000 modii in *TPSulp* 79). This strongly suggests that the loans were for purposes of commerce. The archive also includes many loan tablets not mentioning the Sulpicii which raises the possibility «that the Sulpicii also acted as go-between, bringing prospective creditors and borrowers into contact, negotiating the terms of a loan and safe-keeping the dossier relating to the transaction» (Verboven 2006).

Note should be taken of the attitude to and participation in lending at interest (*faenerat*):

Under the Principate, the vast majority of senators and knights were regularly lending money. The Emperor himself lent considerable sums. ... Although it was fashionable to deplore moneylending for interest, the Greek and Latin elite members do not — in these periods at least — appear to have been at great pains to conceal their investments, except when they were acting illegally (for example, when the rate of interest was classed as usurious). Under the Late Republic and the Principate, lending money for interest was not legally forbidden in Rome. Had it been the subject of a real moral and social taboo among members of the elite, fewer general reflections on it would have been forthcoming, and

there would have been fewer open references to loans. In this respect, Roman antiquity was quite unlike the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (Andreau 1999: 12-13)

There were specialized, full-time moneylenders (*faeneratores*) whose number included senators and knights (Andreau 1999: 15). Thus, Q. Considius, whom Andreau (1999: 11) suggests, was probably a senator, held some fifteen million sesterces of debt-claims. According to Valerius Maximus (IV 8.3), during a credit crisis Considius «would not let his agents call upon any of his debtors ... either for principal or interest» (Bailey). It is refreshing to be confronted with evidence about the economic participation of elites instead of cautions about the limited role that they played.

2. Legal Facilitation of Commerce

An important example of Rome's commercial sophistication and legal flexibility is provided by a (previously cited) case from Scaevola (*Digest* XLV 1.122.1). In the first century BCE the merchant Callimachus borrowed from the slave Stichus in order to buy merchandise in Beirut for sale in Brindisi (southern Italy). The receipts from the Brindisi sale were to be used to purchase a new cargo to be sold in Beirut. Callimachus did not have to repay the loan in the event that his ship was wrecked and the cargo lost. Thus, in return for paying a higher than normal interest rate, Callimachus received an 'insurance policy'. This contract, called *pecunia traiecticia*, is similar to current bottomry. On the other hand, if Callimachus did not fulfill the terms of the contract in timely fashion he was to repay the loan with a normal interest rate to the creditor Lucius Titius in Rome. That is, the loan reverted from *pecunia traiecticia* into *mutuum*. My source Sirks (2002: 149) explains:

In this case, the lender apparently wanted to lend the money as *pecunia traiecticia* (the interest rate is higher), but not under too unfavorable [sailing] conditions (namely wintertime). Thus, a combination of *pecunia traiecticia* and *mutuum*, high and normal interest loans was devised. It gave the lender the security he wanted in order to feel free to lend his money. [It also gave the borrower the insurance policy that he wished.] Without it, there would be no loan. That this system was well thought out shows that there was a demand for it, and since this demand could be fulfilled, it must have promoted trade and financing. *It is just one case, but it demonstrates that jurists were prepared to*

provide solutions when there was a need and that trade made use of law. (emphasis added)

This is not the only case in which Roman law facilitated or permitted growth-enhancing economic arrangements (see Rowe 2005).

Wiedemann (2003: 14-15) notes that «the requirements of supervising the management of estates, especially over long distances, ... lay behind the development of the competence of the procurator in Roman practice and law» but he adds that the procurator's «role should be seen as an extension of that of sons within the household, not a response to the needs of long-distance trade or shipping...». Such an interpretation is 'anachronistic' in ancient terms. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the needs of commercial life help to explain why estates came to be managed over long distances. I will return to this kind of question at the end of this section.

3. *Market Integration*

As noted earlier, trade did send goods (e.g. wine/oil) and slaves to areas in which they were relatively scarce (cf. Rauh 1993: 49-58). This worked to reduce regional price differentials. In discussing the Late Roman Republic, Millar (1984: 5; 15-16) notes several brief references to international trade (export of dried figs from Caunus in Caria to Italy and of Greek wine to Rome, merchant ships in the harbor of Utica) and he concludes that «we do gather something that is quite important. As appears repeatedly in the narratives of this period, the operation of merchant ships between different regions of the Mediterranean is simply presumed as part of the social and economic framework...». Howgego (1994: 5), citing references, adds: «The ceramic record is unambiguous. Not only were particular fine-wares distributed very widely, in some cases throughout the Roman world and beyond, but on Mediterranean sites the percentage of imported pottery, as opposed to local wares, is impressively high». More generally, Paterson (2001: 372-373) remarks on «the uniformity of the material culture (similar goods found in very different types of location)». In a daring and ingenious study, Temin (2006) provides evidence suggesting that the wheat market was integrated¹¹.

¹¹ Temin (2006: 138) maintains: «Given that wheat was grown in many places for both local consumption and shipment to major cities like Rome, prices in outlying areas

The Roman countryside specialized, in a major way, in production for export. Urban ports made a major contribution to the wine trade. By the time of Hadrian wine auctions were held in Ostia and this port was the seat of at least two guilds of wine merchants (Purcell 1985: 12). From the time of Trajan Rome had purpose-built wine warehouses (Purcell 1985: 12). Nevertheless, a main argument of primitivists is, however, that Rome knew only 'consumption-cities', not 'production cities' specializing in the regular export of various commodities to other cities and regions. The alleged absence «of anything resembling the medieval textile-cities ... strengthens the primitivism which was held to be characteristic of the economy at large» (Pleket 1988: 29). Morley (1996: 6), for

should have been lower than in Rome, the largest location of excess demand for wheat». The meaning of this statement is not completely transparent. The underlying argument is that (1) because of transport costs the price of wheat is higher in importing regions than in exporting regions; (2) in a free market equilibrium the difference in price between the regions is equal to transport cost; (3) an index of transport cost is provided by distance between export and import regions; (4) the more distant an exporting region is from importing regions the lower must be its local price of wheat. Note that a region could not export wheat if its price differential with the importing region were less than the cost of transport wheat to the importer. This makes perfect sense and it is a very good idea for which Kessler and Temin deserve high praise.

The problem, and it is a very difficult one, is to estimate the coefficient of distance (transport cost) with live data. In order to accomplish this Temin looks at the price differential between Rome and (only) six other regions in the early Roman Empire. Temin is assuming that the six regions in his sample are exporters of wheat. If not, the price in a nonexporting region is too high to permit export — i.e. the calculated price differential with Rome is less than the cost of transport. The result is that the (true) coefficient of distance will be underestimated and the reliability of the estimated equation will be reduced. In addition, Temin is effectively assuming that Rome is the only importing region. The estimation problem becomes much more severe if, as is in fact the case, Rome is not the only importer of wheat. To illustrate, suppose that Temin's sample of six included two regions equally distant from Rome, one an exporter of wheat to Rome and the other an importer of wheat. The price in the exporter would be lower than in Rome by the cost of transport to Rome. The price in the importer would be? than in Rome by?. Problems of this kind do not bias the results but could easily overwhelm them in a regression equation with only six observations.

As Kessler and Temin (2005: 4-5) clearly state, distance from Rome was measured as a straight line distance on a map, except in the case of the Po Valley in Italy which is linked to Rome by river rather than the sea. In this case, the distance to Rome had to be increased. This adjustment brought an outlying price differential into better conformity to the fitted regression line. However, in some regressions the Po Valley observation was excluded rather than adjusted (Kessler and Temin: 2005: 15). The danger is that even carefully reasoned modifications applied to individual observations may sometimes introduce an element of subjectivity into formal tests of statistical significance. However, despite possible pitfalls, Temin (2006: 138) finds that «Prices were clearly lower farther from Rome ... Given the roughness of the data, the relatively close fit of this [regression] line is surprising». Surprising but welcome.

example, finds «no evidence for any large-scale exports from Rome; the city consumed almost everything produced there and still demanded more». We lack urban ledgers with tallies of exports and specifically urban exports are difficult to identify in the archaeological record, much less quantify¹². Nevertheless, we do know of urban exports such as Pompeii's *garum* 'fish sauce', Rome's 'C. Oppi Res' factory lamps, Arezzo's *terra sigillata* 'Vasa Arretina' and more (see Silver 2006b). With respect to *P. Oxy. Hels.* 40 from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, the main problem is whether the papyrus is a customs register, as van Minnen (1986) argues, or, with the editor, is the account of a laundry. Van Minnen's (1986) judgment is that the papyrus tells us that Oxyrhynchus exported some 1,956 textiles during one week in the second or third century CE. This would amount to 100,000 pieces annually. Pleket (1988: 31-37) supplies additional evidence for textile exports. For the fourth century CE we have the explicit report of Apollinarius of Laodicia of Syrian cities, namely «Scythopolis, Laodicia, Byblus, Tyre Beirut, which export linen to the entire world» (*Expositio* 31; Corcoran 1996: 221). Perhaps none of these exports qualify as 'large scale'. The unanswered question is precisely what does this mean? 'Large scale' is undefined and, consequently, Morley's assertion is untestable. Morley would surely grant that the absence of evidence for 'large-scale' urban exports of material goods does not prove that they were only on a 'small scale'.

There is also qualitative evidence suggesting that growth rates and living standards were also enhanced by the flow of factors of production, both capital and labor, into regions in which they were relatively scarce.

¹² The normal procedure for distinguishing the national origin of terracotta lamps is to divide them according to quality. Lamps of inferior quality are assumed locally made in (say) Spain or Carthage; those of superior quality are taken to be imports from Italy. W.V. Harris (1980: 133) considers this normal procedure to be 'unscientific': «How do we know the limits of the provincial potters' skills and is it not true that the Italians produced some shoddy lamps». Harris' objection is quite reasonable but it does not fully deal with the issue. The normal procedure is more scientific than might appear at first glance. The reason is that *the law of demand predicts that imported lamps will be of above average quality*. To understand this, note first that the transport cost is the same for higher and lower quality lamps. The addition of the given transport cost to both prices lowers the relative price of higher quality lamps. As Alchian and Allen (1968: 64) explain: «Because the relative price of the higher-quality good is lower at the more distant places than at the place of origin, the more distant consumers will purchase a larger proportion of superior to second-grade items than will consumers at or near the place of manufacture. And, again, this is what indeed does happen». The 'preference' of distant consumers, ancient and contemporary, for higher quality items provides a striking indirect validation of the economist's 'law of demand'.

To begin with labor, Cicero (*De officiis* 3.47) criticizes proposals «to ban foreigners from enjoying the advantages of the city». This was a continuing debate. In 126 BCE a commission had been set up to consider whether to eject foreigners who were in Rome illegally and seeking citizenship by *migratio* (Lomas 1996: 95). The advantages of residence in Rome surely included access to superior economic opportunities.

Juvenal (*Satires* III 58) comments:

A Grecian capital in Italy. Grecian? Oh, no! With this vast sewer compared, the dregs of Greece are scarcely worth regard. Long since, the stream that wanton Syria laves [the Orontes] has disemboved its filth in Tiber's waves. Its lingo, manners, arts, and all the scum of Antioch's streets... While every land, Sicyon and Amadon, Alaband, Tralles and Samos, and a thousand more thrive on his indolence and daily pour their starving myriads forth. Hither they come and batten the genial soil of Rome, minions, then lords of every princely dome... That shifts to every form and shines in all: grammarian, painter, auger, rhetorician, rope-dancer, conjurer, fiddler, and physician — all trades his own your hungry Greekling counts. (Gifford and Warrington)

As Frank points out, it very much looks like Juvenal is speaking of free immigrants who came to Rome to improve their material circumstances. This is possible but Frank (1927: 116 n. 10) suggests that «the inscriptions prove that men of this class were frequently slaves and freedmen». In this case, the «lords of every princely dome» included many that had freely sold themselves into slavery to finance their immigration to Rome. There is direct evidence for this practice.

In the *Satyricon* (II 57) Petronius (d. 66 CE) has one of Trimalchio's guests assert:

Well, I am a king's son. «Then why have you been a slave?» Because I went into service to please myself, and preferred being a Roman citizen to going on paying taxes as a provincial. And now I hope I live such a life that no one can jeer at me... I have bought a few acres and collected a little capital... I ransomed my fellow slave to preserve her from indignities; I paid a thousand silver pennies for my own freedom. (Heseltine)

A likely story! It does not seem possible, however, that a Roman audience would have enjoyed the joke if self-sale did not exist. Dio Chrysostom (15.23), who came to Rome in the later first century CE, responds to the question 'But what do you mean by saying that I might become a slave?' in the following terms: «I mean that great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are free-born sell themselves, so that they are slaves

by contract, sometimes on no easy terms but the most severe imaginable» (Cohoon). Evidence for the legal availability of self-sale into slavery is provided by the third-century CE Roman jurist Marcianus (*Digest* I 5.5.1) who notes that slaves might come under ownership «by the civil law, if anyone over twenty allows himself to be sold in order to benefit by retaining a share of the purchase price...» (translated by Wiedemann 1981: 23)¹³. Free immigrant or contractual slave, we have evidence suggesting that labor moved to take advantage of higher wages¹⁴.

Various sources point to the regional flow of capital to opportunities perceived as profitable by members of the elite. In Cicero's day, businessmen such as Egnatius the Spaniard and Cluvius and Vestorius of Puteoli made loans to traders (Andreau 1999: 137) but also, as Frank (1927: 151-152) points out, they «often kept expert business agents at the disposal of customers, especially men versed in provincial investments who travelled extensively abroad» (cf. Rauh 1986: 19). Egnatius, Cluvius and Vestorius seem to qualify for the title 'investment banker' and their agents are *negotiatores*. Basing himself on the Delos inscriptions of the second century BCE, Frank (1927: 153) concludes that Roman business managers who went to the East «reported upon the new opportunities they found there for lucrative investments and thus gradually drew Roman capitalists directly into the field. At the time of Mithridates' raids in Asia and at Delos [87 BCE]... the financial loss fell largely on the Roman forum». «For coinciding with the loss by many people of large fortunes in Asia, we know that there was a collapse of credit at Rome owing to suspension of payment... [T]his system of credit and finance which operates at Rome, in the Forum, is bound up in, and depends on capital

¹³ Barrow (1928: 12) scoffs that «such self-sale was a fraud, with the object of claiming liberty at once on the ground that a citizen could not be sold into valid slavery, and then pocketing the spoil in the form of the price paid. There is no sense in his sharing the price if he became a slave, for it would belong to his master». Of course, this flies in the face of the Marcianus' testimony, which gives no comfort to the fraud theory. The price could have been turned over to the seller's family or, more likely, it became part of the slaves' *peculium* with which he could later purchase his freedom (Barrow 1928: 53; Petronius *Satyricon* II 57). In Rome, agreements to the end of purchasing freedom (*pactum libertatis*) were legally actionable by the slave, at least under the law of the Empire (Zwallye 2002: 122 with n. 33).

¹⁴ Pleket (1994: 119) suggests that the 2.5% Roman import and export tax, the *portorium*, «encouraged the trade in first-rate slaves by levying one uniform tax on all slaves, irrespective of the latter's price». No such encouragement would be provided by a uniform tax rate, which would leave unchanged the relative price of higher and lower quality slaves (see note 12 above).

invested in Asia» (Cicero *Pro Lege Manilia* 7.19; Hodge; cf. Temin 2004: 724-725). All the financial linkages are well summarized in Cicero's (*Pro Sulla* 58) tribute to his friend Sittius:

A man whose debts we see were contracted not out of luxury but from a desire to increase his property which led him to involve himself in business and who, though he owed debts at Rome, had very large debts owing to him in the provinces and in the confederate kingdoms... (Yonge)

Many of Cicero's friends in the mid-first century BCE owned 'plantations' in the East (Frank 1927: 153 citing Cicero *Ad Fam.* XIII 69; *Pro Flacco* 14; *Pro Cad.* 73). Indeed, Atticus had properties and investments in Rome, Arretium, Nomentum, Athens, Sicyon, Delos, Epirus, and Asia (Rauh 1986: 7). More importantly, Romans participated in the Eastern loan market to take advantage of relatively high interest rates (Frank 1927: 153-154 with citations). Obviously, their lending brought the Eastern loan rate somewhat closer to the four to six percent prevailing in Rome (see further below). Writing in the first century CE, Persius (*Satires* V 149-150) makes explicit reference to the striving for higher rates of return, (albeit) by merchants in international trade: «What would you be at? Is it that the money which you have been nursing at a modest five per cent shall go until it sweats out an exorbitant rate of eleven?» (Ramsay).

That the activities of elite financiers seem to have been carried out by networks rather than by means of commercial companies (Andreau 1999: 26) is relevant but does not detract from their economically integrative role. Neither does the fact that they «made no distinction between a productive loan, that is to say a loan destined for economic activity, and any other kind of loan» (Andreau 1999: 29). In the pursuit of gain, there is no reason for lenders to make any such distinction. The basic point is that the interest rates on 'productive' and 'unproductive' loans are integrated in the market.

There is also some evidence suggesting direct investment in distant areas. It *appears*, for example, that in the late first century BCE firms producing fine red terra sigillata pottery in the Etruscan town of Arretium (current Arezzo) founded branches more than 300 miles away in Lyon and in other places in Gaul (Kenrick 1993; Fülle 1997: 141-144). Another point is that Vestorius is credited by Vitruvius (VII 7.1) for bringing the manufacture of 'blue', used for dying clothes, from Alexandria to Puteoli. Remains of this product were found in the wreck of the Plainier III in the Marseilles basin (Verboven 2006). Vestorius, like the high status Sittius, certainly qualifies as an entrepreneur.

The second century CE jurist Gaius (*Digest* XIII 4.3) commented that the prices of oil, wine, and grain and interest rates varied widely from place to place (cited by Duncan-Jones 1994: 176). This might but does not necessarily mean that markets were very weakly integrated. Transport costs, risk differentials and other variables would produce variations that might be significant. Differences might also be of a transitional nature. With respect to interest rates, there is reference in legal texts to differences due to provincial edicts (Andreau 1999: 96). Andreau (1999: 97) observes: «In practice, it is hard to put figures on these variations since, in our meagre documentation, geographical variations are invariably intertwined with chronological ones... We have to assume that geographical variations existed, but it is not easy to come up with precise figures».

4. *The Roman Business Enterprise*

The Roman *societas* 'partnership' lacked mutual agency; each partner had to endorse a contract to be bound by it. Moreover, «Roman law made no distinction between the obligations and assets of the *societas* and those of its members, precluding the weak asset partitioning that characterize the modern partnership» (Hansmann, Kraakman, and Squire January 2006: 19). Another problem was that Roman law did not provide for the transfer of a partnership in a *societas* to a third party. However, it appears that such transfers might be accomplished by resort to powers of attorney (Zimmerman 1990: 60-62, 454-457). Many of the problems of the *societas* were mitigated by workarounds and, as we shall see, by reliance on the *peculium*.

Commercial difficulties arising from the absence of direct agency and questions of authorization in Roman law were at least partially resolved by the legal provision of 'indirect agency' in the late second century CE (Aubert 1994: 5-6; chap. 2). Two types of indirect agents were especially important: «the *institor* for land based activities...[and for seaborne activities] the *magister navis* 'shipmaster,' whose principal is called *exercitor* ('shipper')» (Aubert 1994: 15-16). As Sirks (2002: 138; cf. 139) points out in this connection: «The cases of the *actiones institoria* and *exercitoria* demonstrate how lawmakers were prepared to expand existing legal institutions to accommodate the growing needs of commerce». Perhaps more basically «the praetor responded to the needs of businesspeople by creating a legal structure based on existing structures

of Roman society (slavery and the unitary character of the family), with advantages similar to those which direct agency would have offered» (Aubert 1994: 114).

Perhaps Rome did know a weak form of limited liability. A creditor might bring an action against the owner of a slave based on obligations entered into by that slave under the authority of the owner. However, in the event that the slave was not acting directly under the authority of his owner, the amount that the creditor could recover from the owner was limited to his personal profit from the transaction and the *peculium*. The *peculium* was a fund or working capital (originally) put at the disposal of the slave (or other dependent) by his owner (Johnston 1997; Verboven 2002: 25-26). The arrangement might be compared to the 'limited partnership' wherein «The active partners (in this case the slaves) are liable *in solidum*, whereas the idle partners [in this case the slaveowners] are liable only for their part of the capital» (Verboven 2002: 28). Zwolve (2002: 122) explains that

the *peculium* ... was treated as a separate legal identity... In this way Roman law met the same needs as those underlying modern company law, where the liability of a shareholder in a company is limited to his duty (to the company) to pay up for his shares in full. No wonder, therefore, that many Roman business enterprises — banks, factories, shops and even schools — were run by slaves acting as grantees of a *peculium*.

Further, using a common slave (*servus communis*) might facilitate the formation of joint enterprises. In this event, the joint masters became economic associates even in the absence of a company contract (Di Porto cited by Andreau [1999: 68] who disagrees with both Zwolve and Di Porto). I would understand the common slave as the entrepreneur and his owners as limited liability 'stockholders'. On the other hand, although this is not stated in the sources, it appears that, unlike contemporary commercial firms, personal creditors had a claim on resources that slave-owners committed to a *peculium* firm (Hansmann, Kraakman, and Squire January 2006: 21-22). The economic importance of the absence of legal 'entity shielding' from the personal creditors is open to question.

Malmendier (2005: 38) takes matters further with her finding that «The most important elements of the modern corporation ... seem to have been granted to the [Roman] *societas publicanorum* ['society of government leaseholders or contractors']». The latter were groups of investors (*publicani*) who made bids to implement various government projects. The

institution dates from the third century BCE. «The existence of the *societas publicanorum* did not — to a large extent — depend on the individuals involved; a representative could act ‘for the company;’ ownership was fungible, traded in the form of shares [*partes*], and separated from control of the company». The stockholders stood only to lose their investment. The scope of the *societas publicanorum* was, however, limited to commercial dealings with government and it disappeared in the second century CE. The reasons for the emergence and extinction of the corporate form are explored elsewhere (Silver 2007). It is well to note, however, that limited liability for owners is not a necessity for raising large amounts of capital.

A balance sheet. Many instances may be cited in which Roman legal institutions evolved to facilitate growth-and to raise living standards. Sometimes practices evolved and became commonplace without, at least to our knowledge, being recognized in law. Thus, Andreau (1999: 40) suggests that while «there can be no doubt that *argentarii*, *coactores argentarii*, and (later) *nummularii* were accepting non-sealed deposits [which bankers invested], it is not at all certain that jurists were recognizing the existence of an irregular deposit contract to accompany this financial practice». There is no question that credit intermediation was tolerated even when not actively encouraged by the jurists. It is also the case that Roman law sometimes hindered the working of efficient financial and commodity markets. The examples of legal maximum interest rates (Andreau 1999: 90-93) and regulation of grain markets come immediately to mind. In addition, the Roman legal performance with respect to the continuity of business enterprises and limited liability seems convoluted and rather unsatisfactory (see Andreau 1999: 26). However, I cannot follow Andreau’s (1999: 69-70; cf. Verboven 2003: 7-9) claim that the Roman «limited company» lacked a «true entrepreneur». Not all firms, ancient or modern, are innovative enough to be classed as ‘entrepreneurial’. Suffice it to say that someone, slave or slaveowner, was responsible for devising and implementing the business plan of the enterprise and making its contracts. Business managers and entrepreneurs need not be prestigious or wealthy. Entrepreneurs were able to raise capital, including from members of the elite.

A final point is that contemporary ‘capitalist’ nations, including the United States, have chosen to implement legions of laws and regulations hindering ‘capitalism’. The evidence, for example, makes clear that the ancient Roman had controls over the economic use of his body unavailable

to a contemporary American. A Roman might sell himself into slavery to finance emigration or training. In colonial America the quantitatively important institution of indentured servitude enabled English emigrants to finance their passage to the colonies by selling claims on their future labor (Galen-son 1981). This option has long ceased to be legally available.

THREE FAULTY IDENTIFICATIONS

The ingrained belief in historically negligible economic growth, bare subsistence living standards, absence of integrated markets, and unresponsiveness of institutions to economic needs cannot arise from the handful of numbers and/or the qualitative evidence available to us. Instead, it arises, I believe, from three interrelated theoretical identifications, all of which are faulty.

The first is the identification of economic growth with industrialization. This kind of identification is illustrated by Bresson's (2005: 44) claim:

It is clear (and this was understood in antiquity), that production needed the investment of labour and money. Cato even observed what might today be styled profit margin on investment (*Agr.* 1.5-6). However, given the scientific and technological conditions of the time, extra investment per production unit (which in practice meant individual farmsteads in the countryside) could not yield a long-term productivity increase. In consequence, there was no 'economy', in the sense of aggregate corporate activity, since large firms did not exist.

Along the same line, Saller (2002: 262) is simply mistaken when, in speaking of Rome, he poses investment in trade (e.g. for shipbuilding) *against* investment in agriculture.

Economic history demonstrates that agriculture, handicrafts, and services taken in conjunction with trade are quite capable of generating living standards that are both rising and respectable. Just as importantly, economic history teaches us that massive increases in total factor productivity (TFP) — i.e. increases in GDP that cannot be explained by increases in measured inputs — can result from changes in 'institutional quality' or improved economic/political organization (North and Thomas 1973). This is the case even if technology remains constant (compare Jongman 1988: 26-27). The unfolding of important efficiencies is capable of generating a large increase in output and a sustained increase in the growth rate. Note the Chinese 'miracle' since the market-oriented reforms

in 1978 undermined agricultural communes and strengthened the profit motive¹⁵. In a recent empirical study, Hall and Jones (1999: 114) found that «Differences in social infrastructure [differences in institutions and government policies] across countries cause large differences in capital accumulation, educational attainment, and productivity, and therefore large differences in income across countries». The record shows that ancient civilizations, Rome being the best documented example, experienced lengthy periods of relatively unfettered market activity and growth interspersed with periods of pervasive economic regulation by the state and, ultimately, negative 'cultural values' and economic retrogression.

The second faulty identification is of population growth with population 'pressure'. Basically, the population pressure argument rests on the argument that, *other things equal*, an increase in the application of labor relative to land (eventually) results in a declining average (and marginal) revenue productivity of labor (Lucas 2004). (Average revenue productivity is the money value of output per unit of labor employed on the land.) There is evidence of significant population growth in Rome, especially in Italy (see Scheidel 2006b: 8-9). The pressure theorists understand this growth, whatever its cause, as proof that labor productivity and, hence, mass living standards declined or stagnated (see e.g. Jongman 1988: 200-201 and similarly Morley 2001: 59). It proves nothing of the sort. I will first consider two 'Malthusian' arguments and then discuss the question of whether a debilitating increase in population was induced by Roman public policy.

The economist can assume that more people are put to work on a given stock of land producing a given product (or a given distribution of products) and consider the consequences for labor productivity. The theorist, however, remains well aware that numerous factors might permit production per head of population to increase in value when a nation's population rose. For example the emergence of new markets or new products or new road systems and safer shipping lanes or improved incentives due to a new tax-structure or better protection of property rights or the removal of distortions in resource allocation due to price- and interest

¹⁵ In 1988, ten years after the market-oriented reforms, real GDP per capita was 85.5% greater than in 1978. For purposes of comparison, in 1978 real GDP per capita was 44.4% higher than in 1968. Source: Maddison (2003: 184, Table 5c). Russia might be thought to provide a counterexample. However, there is much less to Russia's privatization beginning in the 1990s than meets the eye.

rate-controls or the application of more physical and human capital or the discovery of additional land and, of course, technological change. Increasing population would eventually reduce labor productivity if these other variables remained unchanged. However, it was argued earlier, taking the example of the oil/wine industry, that Roman labor productivity increased over several centuries. Was this no more than a kind of stretched out 'big bang'? Did significant productivity rises cease to occur? If so, I would regard the cessation, not population growth, to be the central problem.

Put aside for the time being the ultimate reaction of per capita income to increases in productivity. Evidence of increasing population over several centuries is good evidence of rising household incomes over several centuries. To understand why this is so we need to consider the economic theory of population. Population grows in a closed system (ignore immigration and emigration) because couples are marrying younger and having more surviving children and because adults are living longer. Increases in survival rates and in longevity reflect improvements in living conditions. This much is obvious. There is a less obvious factor at work. I assume that Roman family size, like other consumption choices, is within the calculus of rational choice. Households choose the combination of 'number of children' and 'other goods' that maximizes their real income (utility) subject to a budget constraint. (The means available to Romans for limiting family size are discussed below.) Contemporary evidence suggests that 'number of children' is a superior/normal consumption good — i.e. richer households demand more children up to some fairly high maximum number (Becker 1957; Silver 1965, 1966)¹⁶. In the absence of a decrease in the direct cost of raising children or a decrease in the opportunity cost of time (foregone money income) spent

¹⁶ I believe that Romans and other ancient peoples made rational family size choices subject to available technologies. I do not accept the view that this kind of choice happened only in a so-called 'post-transitional' situation (cf. note 19).

That 'number of children' demanded increases with household income is an empirical finding from studies of contemporary populations. This is a strength and a weakness. The standard theory of consumer choice does not guarantee that number of children is a normal good. This result is, however, guaranteed by certain not uncommon assumptions about the mathematical form of the household's utility function; for example, that it is homogeneous of degree one (linear homogeneous). I am unwilling to adopt this formulation. The evidence suggests that the income elasticity of demand for number of children is about 0.2-0.3. That is, a one percent increase in income would increase the number of children demanded by from 0.2 to 0.3 percent.

in raising children or an increase in economic returns to parents from children's labor or an increase in the price of consumption substitutes for 'number of children' or changes in culture ('tastes'), an increase in completed household size testifies to an increase in household income. This increase in the number of children demanded, by the way, is not taken into account when per capita income is used as an index of household living standards (compare Jongman 2002a: 40). The effect of this measure can be likened to a practice of deducting expenditure on new automobiles from household income on the ground that automobiles must be fed gasoline!¹⁷ To return to the central issue, there is no reason to assume that households, ancient or contemporary, demanded the number of children that resulted in biological subsistence consumption of 'other goods'. Then and now increases in household income are allocated partly to larger families and partly to 'other goods' (see Lipsey, Carlaw and Bekar 2005: 302-308)¹⁸.

It may be inferred from Roman population growth that the disposable income of the Roman household was rising¹⁹. This fits rather uncom-

¹⁷ Children were not the only 'burden' borne by ancient consumers. «Many public buildings were exquisitely ornated with expensive materials... The archaeology of Roman urbanism thus gains in importance well beyond the symbolic and cultural. Building is an expensive burden in any society, but particularly in a pre-industrial economy with only few resources available beyond bare subsistence for many» (Jongman 2002a: 44-45). The amenities, baths, fountains, aqueducts, splendid buildings, in Roman cities are often taken as evidence that living standards of the «many» had risen above «bare subsistence». For Jongman, the urban amenities demonstrate the opposite conclusion.

¹⁸ Evidence for marital fertility in Roman Egypt has been distilled from census data for about 1100 persons during the first three centuries CE (see Frier 1994; Bagnall and Frier 1994; Frier 2001: 151-156). However, the value of this evidence is disputed by Scheidel (2001: 178).

¹⁹ In the case of England, the first country to experience the industrial revolution, population and per capita income rose together beginning in about the middle of the seventeenth century. The fertility rate tended to rise over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and only declined precipitously from 1875 to 1916. Lipsey, Carlaw, and Bekar (2005: 355-356) explain the fertility decline in terms of a decrease in the relative price of substitutes for 'number of children'. Urbanization and technological change not only lowered the relative price of entertainment and other leisure goods but expanded the choice set: «Consuming these new goods and services took not only money but scarce time. Thus the opportunity cost of raising children was increasingly measured in time not available to consume leisure goods and services as well as in income foregone». At the same time the income elasticity of "number of children" demanded remained positive.

The modern population explosion is attributed to the failure of birth rates to decline simultaneously with death rates around 1700. This failure is sometimes explained in terms of a «lag» or «because of the inertia that characterizes fertility choices made by households» (Ray 1998: 303). Possibly, but the length of the lag is troubling. (In Western Europe death rates began to decline in the mid-18th century and birth rates declined at the end of

fortably the primitivist vision of the Roman economy. Why did living standards rise? Some consideration was given to productivity increases earlier. Suffice to say that arguments claiming to minimize the importance of this or that causal factor cannot negate the central point.

As opposed to the standard Malthusian theory of fertility, neither an inability to make family size choices nor traditional social imperatives nor traditional birth control technologies programmed Roman households for a biological maximum of surviving children. Moreover, no such program was required to assure collective survival (compare Frier 1994: 330-31; 2001: 150, 156-157). Roman elites, as growth economist Robert E. Lucas (2004) believes, found ways to escape the alleged biological dictates and they were culturally motivated to do so. This is a rather significant concession. It avoids undermining the neo-classical assumption of exogenously (outside the choice calculus) given population growth only because, by definition, 'elites' are so tiny they can be safely ignored in formal growth models.

The contraceptive properties of certain plants were known in antiquity but, it is true, they might be expensive (Riddle, Estes, and Russell 1994: 30-31; cf. Riddle 1992). However, the other available technologies for limiting family size, infanticide, abstention (including lactational sexual abstinence), coitus interruptus and other sexual practices, could not have been a closely guarded secret held by an 'elite'. If elites were motivated to limit family size so were the masses. Neither, is there direct evidence that the masses in Greco-Roman antiquity chose to fully translate increases in income into increases in family size²⁰. Writing in the second century BCE Polybius (XX 6.1-6) claimed that Greeks put off marriage and when they did marry they were «unwilling to bring up the children born to them; the majority were only willing to bring up at most one or two,

the 19th century.) Perhaps the lag was reinforced by rising family incomes, which raised the desired number of surviving offspring.

²⁰ Morris (2005: 123) concludes, «for most people in Greece, living standards increased substantially across this half-millennium [800 to 300 BCE]». He explains that «This increase is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind that population expanded enormously in just the same period... Population increased roughly tenfold between the eighth century and the fourth [citing the Kea survey and the Argolid Exploration Project]. Economic historians commonly assume that prior to the Industrial Revolution, living standards improved only at a glacial rate, because any significant increases in per capita economic output were quickly converted into extra mouths to feed. ... But in Greece, across a long period of time (twice as long as the period that has elapsed since the Industrial Revolution began in earnest), *population and living standards apparently increased together*» (emphasis added). As economic theory predicts.

in order to leave them wealthy and to spoil them in their childhood» (Paton). Note also Plutarch's statement that «The poor do not bring up children» (*Moralia* 497e, as translated by Harris 1982: 116, who emphatically rejects Hembold's «For when poor men do not rear their children...»). Hembold's translation continues as follows: «because they fear that if they are educated less well than is befitting they will become servile and boorish and destitute of all the virtues; since they consider poverty the worst of evils, they cannot endure to let their children share it with them, as though it were a kind of disease, serious and grievous». In the earlier fourth century, the Emperor Constantine issued two edicts requiring imperial officers to provide aid for newborn children of the poor in order to limit infanticide and the selling of children (*Theodosian Code* XI 27.1-2 cited by Woolf 1990: 205).

The masses were not asses and elites did not simply descend from heaven. Indeed, the ancient 'elites' included entrepreneurs who had earned their way to the top, including numerous former slaves (see e.g. Garnsey 1981; Andreau 1999: 60-63; Verboven 2007: 3). Juvenal (*Satires* I 81-106) who describes «clients» waiting outside the gate of a great family waiting for their *sportula* («dole») nicely illustrates the point.

A freedman, bustling through; first come is still first served... Though born a slave — 'tis useless to deny what these holed ears betray to every eye — on rents from my five freehold shops I live in knightly splendor. Can the purple give these gentry more? (Gifford and Warington)

The «purple» indicates membership in the Senate but 400,000 sesterces was the wealth required for knightly status²¹. 'Elite', like 'peasant' (see below), is a loaded and undefined term which should not be used to 'explain' an otherwise unexplainable exceptionalism.

It is true that some models of sustained income growth assume that the ancient world experienced a fixed rate of population growth. It is also true that this assumption is inconsistent with economic theory and with the available evidence. The standard Malthusian theory must be rejected. A neo-Malthusian version which makes number of children a normal

²¹ With respect to social mobility, Purcell (1985: 11) is not surprised by the increased interest in viticulture in senatorial circles beginning in the Augustan period because «For one thing, the social background of senators was very different. The wave of Italian senators which eventually brought a Vespasian to the imperial power introduced to the Roman aristocracy the very families which had been in earlier generations the mainstay of Italian viticulture».

consumer good (see above) predicts that family size and per capita income will return to their initial values after a once-for-all increase in productivity. This simplified model applies to all economies, ancient or contemporary, in which households choose more children when household incomes rise (the ‘family formation externality’). The transition dynamics may of course take several centuries to settle down (Lipsey, Carlaw, and Bekar 2005: 311-314). The neo-Malthusian model does not, in my judgment, come to grips with the dimensions of Rome’s ultimate economic failure²². Moreover, it raises additional questions of its own. I see

²² «It is currently deeply unfashionable to state that anything like a ‘crisis’ or a ‘decline’ occurred at the end of the Roman empire, let alone that a ‘civilization’ collapsed and a ‘dark age’ ensued. The new orthodoxy is that the Roman world, in both East and West, was slowly, and essentially painlessly, ‘transformed’ into a medieval form. However, there is an insuperable problem with this new view: it does not fit the mass of the archaeological evidence now available, which shows a startling decline in western standards of living during the fifth to seventh centuries... It was no mere transformation — it was decline on a scale that can reasonably be described as ‘the end of a civilization’... What we observe is not a ‘recession’ or ... an ‘abatment’, with an essentially similar economy continuing to work at a reduced pace. Instead what we see is a remarkable qualitative change, with the disappearance of entire industries and commercial networks» (Ward-Perkins 2005: 88, 117; cf. 104-126).

There is, in addition, textual evidence consistent with a qualitative decline in the activity of professional bankers. According to Andreau (1999: 33), *argentarii* are not attested as deposit bankers «between 260 and the last third of the fourth century AD... Then, in about 330-340, it [the term] reappears. At this time, however, it was applied to silversmiths, not to money-changers, whereas in the past, *argentarius*, used on its own, had never designated a metalworker... [T]owards the end of the century, these silversmiths began, in their turn, to accept deposits and became money-changers/deposit bankers, but... they did not play [as in the past] any part in auctions, and they also practised as silversmiths...». The *nummularii*, also deposit bankers, are not mentioned during the first half of the fourth century (Andreau 1999: 33). Further, in contrast to earlier Rome, at the end of the third century and in the fourth: «Many Christian texts allude to hoarding, and it is condemned much more frequently than at the beginning of the Empire» (Andreau 1999: 93-94). It would appear that the Roman financial system experienced a severe deterioration during the later Empire. What was the cause? We know only that there are two inscriptions from the early third century with unclear references to «exceptional measures applicable solely to the banking business... which related to commerce and food supplies at Rome» (Andreau 1999: 106).

The deterioration of the Roman credit system finds support in shipwreck evidence. From 200 BCE to 200 CE wrecks do not contain large hoards of coins (see note 8). This is consistent with the view that international trade relied on credit instruments and did not require the movement of coins. However, beginning in the very late third century CE we begin to find hoards of cash large enough for the purchase of significant cargoes.

Lactantius was hardly an unbiased observer but his remarks about the economic problems in Diocletian’s era are not incredible: «The number of recipients began to exceed the number of contributors by so much that, with farmers’ resources exhausted by the enormous size of the requisitions, fields became deserted and cultivated land was turned into

no reason to assume that a Roman economy capable of raising productivity 'once' would be constitutionally incapable of raising it repeatedly and, indeed, continuously. The results of repeated productivity increases would depend on the structure of the economic model and the specifics of the changes in productivity. At worst, the reversion to initial values would be postponed indefinitely as the transitional dynamics worked themselves out. Meanwhile, per capita incomes would rise or not decline for many centuries. Another possibility is that per capita income would stabilize at a higher level after a transition phase lasting many centuries²³. 'Transitional dynamics' are, after all, what life is all about. (The speed of the transition would depend in part on the income elasticity of demand for number of children and there might well be distributional changes during the transitional process.) The neo-Malthusian model is so very long run oriented that it distracts attention from episodic growth and, more importantly, from explaining historical retro-development. Arguably, the Roman economy was shattered not by population growth but by perverse economic policies. This theme is considered next and at various points in the remainder of the paper.

Having considered Malthusian theory, let us next consider the possible role of public policy in raising population and lowering labor productivity. Jongman (1988: 24, 65; cf. 2002a: 46) maintains that the (allegedly) low Roman living standard «reflects a failure to cope with population pressure», Rome could not solve the problem of «feeding an inordinately large population». This claim may have merit but in an unexpected way. The dole and various urban amenities (discussed below) operated as a powerful magnet drawing Romans to cities (Ades & Glaeser 1995: 216-218; Morley 2006: 38-39). This reduced aggregate production. Moreover, imperial policies

forest. To ensure that terror was universal, provinces too were cut into fragments; many governors and even more officials were imposed on individual regions, almost on individual cities, and to these were added numerous accountants, controllers, and prefects' deputies. The activities of all these people were rarely civil, they engaged only in repeated condemnations and confiscations, and in exacting endless resources — and the exactions were not just frequent, they were incessant, and involved insupportable injustices... In addition, Diocletian had a limitless passion for building, which led to an equally limitless scouring of the provinces to raise workers, craftsmen, waggons, whatever is necessary for building operations. Here he built basilicas, there a circus, a mint, an arms-factory, here he built a house for his wife, there one for his daughter» (Lactantius VIII 2-7, 8-9; Creed).

²³ This applies to contemporary and ancient economies. The economy fails to achieve a perpetual growth equilibrium in which each generation enjoys a higher per capita income than its predecessors do because the desired number of children increases with household income.

worked to reduce the relative price of 'number of children' for households residing in cities. That is, the increase in Roman population under the Empire may be in part due to a *decrease in the cost of raising children*, not entirely to rising family incomes. As Jongman (2002b: 51, 59) explains:

The end of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the second century A.D. saw the establishment in Italian cities of both private and imperial *alimenta*, endowment schemes to provide financial support for children... Far more prominent ... than poor relief in Pliny's account of the *alimenta* in Rome is the resulting growth in the number of births, and the future importance of these children in the army. ... When Pliny praises Trajan (*Panegyricus* 1.27) that due to him more children will be born, it is because Trajan is a good emperor. (cf. Jongman 2002a: 46-7)

There is inscriptional evidence for alimentary schemes in some fifty Italian towns (Woolf 1990: 199). One much later commentator (Pseudo-Aurelius Victor) suggested that Emperor Nerva, the initiator, was motivated by a desire to aid «needy parents» (cited by Woolf 1990: 204). However, there is no evidence that the grants were restricted to the poor. Jongman (2002b: 63, 71) goes on to argue «that the allowances were generous, that they supported a large proportion of free children in the cities, and that many Italian cities had *alimenta*...Through the *alimenta* many citizen families received subsistence support on a level roughly comparable to the *plebs frumentaria* in the city of Rome».

The *alimenta* lowered the price (relative to other consumer goods/services) and consequently increased the number of children demanded by households, poor and rich²⁴. As shown by the Theodosian Code, there were still *alimenta* as late as the fourth century CE (C.P. Jones 1989: 191; and above). Thus, even after household incomes in the Empire had begun to fall and other forms of consumption were being dispensed with the subsidies continued to encourage urban households to have large families. The resulting increase in the tax-burden on productive households reduced their incentive to produce, which further reduced per capita

²⁴ Duncan-Jones (1969: 288) suggests that «it is unlikely that the well-to-do would have been induced to have more children by the offer of bare subsistence allowances (which was all that the alimentary grants amounted to)». Making all the standard assumptions about utility functions, both the substitution effect and the income effect of decrease in relative price would have encouraged more children in all income classes. Of course, if as Duncan-Jones seems to be suggesting the allowance was trivial, then the effect for a 'lumpy' consumer good like number of children might have been too small to notice. This does not appear to be the case, however.

incomes. As A.H.M. Jones (1964: 1045) puts it: «The basic economic weakness of the empire was that too few producers supported too many idle mouths». It is very possible that the Roman emperors could not cope with urban population pressure made not by Malthus but by them. Admittedly, not all Roman scholars would assign so much credit/blame to welfare policies.

The third error is the identification of ancient society with a subset of contemporary 'traditional' societies whose institutional structures wreck incentives and strangle economic growth. Samuel (1984: 195-199) makes a relatively complete endorsement of this kind of identification. Jongman (2002a: 36-37) asserts: «The labor savings an ox would have bought were meaningless to peasants whose own labour and that of their families were not fully employed, and available at zero cost». There is no question that the services of a farmer and his family, or of his ox or of his land were sometimes less than fully employed. On the other hand, family and servile labor and other productive inputs might be rented to other employers on a temporary basis. Erdkamp (1999: 556, 568, 570-571) mentions as possible part-time employments day-laborer, sailor, charcoal maker, textile worker, maker of amphorae, bricks and tiles, and muleteer²⁵. He adds:

The juridical literature ... contains ample evidence for the hiring out of mules, sometimes with a slave muleteer... It is not surprising that the texts do not show whether the animals and slaves were primarily employed in agricultural labour or whether they were engaged throughout the year by professional transporters... The fact that peasants and work animals in agriculture in the Roman world experienced seasonal unemployment makes it very likely that they were employed in transport at some times of the year just as in early modern Europe». (Erdkamp 1999: 568)

However, due to certain 'frictions' or (better) transaction costs (including costs of transport and information) it is often not economically feasible to take advantage of changing economic opportunities (e.g. rainy days, seasonal variations) by shifting labor-power, especially of family members, and other inputs to the external market and (later on) back

²⁵ Erdkamp (1999: 559) excludes domestic labor in nearby towns as a part-time employment because this option for young females «did not exist, due to the predominance of slave labour in this sector». The difficulty here is perhaps overstated but it is true that the household labor option was likely to be rejected by free women because of inferior pay and working conditions (see Silver 2006d: 258).

again (see below). A degree of economically rational immobility is built into every productive unit (cf. Erdkamp 1999: 570). Pre-industrial means of communication magnified the degree of rational immobility. Barriers to mobility are, moreover, increased in productively specialized regions — that is, in regions where most potential employers are performing the same productive operations at the same time (cf. Erdkamp 1999: 569; 2005: 82-83)²⁶. Thus, Columella (II 12.9) speaks of a nearly four month period in which labor is underemployed «which we may spend either in sowing three-months crops, or in the hauling of hay, forage, manure, and of other useful things» (Ash). Note, however, that Columella is not speaking of family farming and that the stated period of immobility and relative underemployment is four months, not twelve.

Jongman, I surmise, wishes to identify Rome with a subset of contemporary undeveloped economies with dualistic labor markets (e.g. India, Egypt) discussed years ago by economist W. Arthur Lewis (1954). The policy thrust of Lewis' influential two-sector development model is to find a way to shift labor out of the massively overpopulated rural traditional sector into the relatively high productivity urban/industrial sector. Putting aside the merits of Lewis' model, there is no evidence of massive rural overpopulation in Rome. Neither is there evidence that Rome's urban and agricultural labor markets were sharply divided in terms of either productivity or participation. (Actually, as noted earlier, there is some reason to believe that the rural sector was economically more progressive than the urban sector.) Indeed, there is a bit of evidence that wages moved to clear markets (Temin 2006: 140) and none that they did not.

Where is Rome's 'traditional sector'? As noted above, Rome's very significant oil and wine industry was not a 'subsistence sector' and was run not by 'peasants' but by economically rational producers, large and small, for whom 'time was money' (see further below). On the other hand, in disputing the economic rationality of Roman agriculturalists, Pleket (1967: 19) cites, among other examples, the elder Pliny's (*Natural History* XVIII 38) statement that «good farming is necessary, perfect farming detrimental, except when the farmer runs his farm by his own family or by persons he has to maintain in any case». Actually, Pliny's

²⁶ In pre-industrial Europe larger agricultural employers often provided rural households with significant economic incentives to keep them nearby to meet seasonal demands for labor (Grantham 1993: 491-493).

observation stands as a testimony to economic rationality and sophistication. As de Neeve (1985: 91) points out, the first implication of the statement is that, in accordance with the 'law of diminishing returns', the marginal productivity (incremental production) of labor declines as more labor is applied to the land (see above). The second implication involves the assumption that labor-power is available (already 'hired' so to speak) for the production period which the farm manager is obligated to pay/maintain and whose services cannot profitably be rented to outside employers (de Neeve 1990: 386). Generally speaking, to maximize profit labor should be hired and applied not to the point of 'perfection' but only to the point where the (positive) market wage rate is equal to the value of the (declining) marginal product of labor (market value of incremental output). Profit declines if additional units of labor add more to total cost than to the value of total output. However, Pliny correctly notes that when the marginal cost of labor (incremental cost of employing additional hours of labor) is effectively zero as it is for already hired labor (sunk costs are sunk), labor may appropriately be applied to the point of 'perfection' — i.e. to the point where the monetary value of the marginal product of labor (value of its incremental output) is zero²⁷. Of course, the labor of family members, spouses and children, and of other dependents (e.g. aged slaves) tends to be immobile (see above). The labor of outsiders is another story. In the long run, all decisions can be made as if they were being made for the first time and, consequently, fixed costs (costs that do not vary with output) are transformed into variable costs (costs that do vary with output). My point is that agriculturalists would choose not to 'maintain' hired or servile labor whose 'wage' was regularly greater than the value of their marginal product. 'Surplus labor-power' would eventually be disemployed.

To return from the microeconomics of the firm to the applicability of the Lewis model, there are relatively numerous literary references, especially for Italy, Greece and Syria, of small farmers ('peasants') participating in markets:

²⁷ Columella (II 2.12) balances the value of additional land to farm with the cost of additional labor when he advises: «It is easy to clear stony ground by gathering up the stones; and if there is a great quantity of them, parts of the field must be used for building them into piles of some sort, so that the other parts may be cleared off, or the stones will have to be buried in a deep-dug trench. This should be done, however, only if the cheapness of labor makes it advisable». (Ash)

Since market-gardening was market-oriented by definition, it will come as no surprise to come across *hortulani* who sell vegetables in town. But there are numerous references to herdsmen selling animals or animal products, while peasants sell almost anything: grain, bread, olives, wine, fruits, fodder, cheese, fowl, flowers, wood and so on. There cannot be the least doubt that quite a number of peasants sold their products in town in all periods of Greek and Roman history... The enumeration of evidence could be continued for pages. However, an exhaustive listing of sources is unnecessary, as the general point is clear: peasant sales were a quite ordinary phenomenon, which would seem to suggest that a significant number of peasants had the disposal over certain amounts of cash. (de Ligt 1990: 336-337; cf. de Ligt 1993; Choi 2005; compare Jongman 2003: 184, 187-188)

Moreover, in addition to participating directly in urban markets, farmers also sold their products to itinerant merchants who marketed them in the towns. Of course, the exemption of cultivators from the Lustral Contribution, a general tax on trade and industry, encouraged their direct participation in markets. The exemption is found in the Theodosian Code (XIII 1.3; cited by Choi).

This is not a great deal of evidence for participation. On the other hand, no evidence has been presented that Roman agriculture should be classified as 'traditional'. This classification is the product of a 'model'. In recognition of the evidence for participation, it is objected that 'peasants' lacked a 'capitalistic attitude' and/or that their participation was limited to marketing 'surpluses'. The word 'surplus', of course, suggests that farmers did not consciously and regularly produce a 'surplus' of grain or other products precisely in order to sell it. There is no evidence to confirm this interpretation; it is yet again the product of a 'model'.

Saller (2002: 265) seems to place Rome's 'traditional sector' with its 'surplus labor' in the cities wherein, he says, «much of the urban population remained underemployed and at bare subsistence (as in Third World economies today)». If Rome's urban population was «underemployed» this would owe much more to government policy ('bread and circuses') than to any underdevelopment in the economy. The Roman emperors and the wealthy elite transformed Rome and other cities into extremist centers of consumption. Treasuries of Hadrian, Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius generously enhanced the amenities of urban life. Then, of course, there was beginning in 58 BCE the state's generous wheat dole to registered free Romans, rich and poor. The grain distributions (*frumentationes*) provided 200,000 citizens (out of an estimated 600,000) with 400 kg. of wheat per year. This gift was about 37.5 percent more

than the subsistence requirement of 250 kg. (Jongman 2002b: 47 with n. 3). By the end of the first century CE, the grants were extended to many Italian cities. Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria and other Egyptian cities began to share in the grain distributions by the third century (Woolf 1990: 213). The distributions began to include wine and pork in the fourth century. Moreover, in addition to distributions of food, on special occasions the emperors provided gifts in cash (*congiaria*) amounting to «something like a year's income for an ordinary man» (Jongman 2002b: 48). Beginning with Nerva and Trajan there were also distributions in cash to children (see above). Trajan's favorite slogan was *felicitas temporum* («the happiness of an age») and his favorite theme the Imperial cornucopia pouring out wheat, oil, and wine upon a grateful world.

These policies drew/shoved 'consumers' to the cities and contributed to deterioration in incentives to do productive work²⁸. Thus, writing in the first century BCE, Sallust (*Catiline* 37.7) spoke of

youth, who in the country had earned a scanty livelihood by manual labor, tempted by public and private largesses had preferred idleness in the city [Rome] to unwelcome toil in the field. (J.S. Watson)

In the second century CE, Appian (*Civil Wars* II 120) observed that Rome's grain distributions «draw the lazy, the beggars and the vagrants of all Italy» (White). New 'cultural values' inimical to economic growth developed in the cities. Purcell (1985: 15) notes that «As late as the end of the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus [XIV 6.25; XV 7.3; XXVIII 4.29] is at pains to show how unusually dissolute the urban populace of Rome is, and drunkenness, tavern life and the demand for wine are prominent in the picture he presents of a city in which the luxury of the aristocracy is matched by the misrule of the masses». There is nothing 'Roman' about the attractiveness of a free lunch or a free drink²⁹. Welfarist policies are capable of transforming any city into a center of 'underemployment'.

²⁸ In order to obtain the benefits one had to be present in the cities. This is well illustrated in the report of Dio Chrysostom (*Discourses* 7.49) that a rural resident was able to share in a distribution of money because he happened to be in town at the time of the handout.

²⁹ A quantitative estimate of the drawing power of a subsidized or free lunch is available for the Roman Republic. In 73 BCE the *lex Terentia et Cassia frumentaria* subsidized consumption of grain. The recipients, numbering about 40,000, had to pay HS 1.5 per modius as compared to a market price (including transportation) about HS 5 per modius (Meijer 1990 basing himself on Cicero *2Verres* 3.72; 3.163). Under Clodius' law of 58 BCE grain was distributed free. From 73 to 46, the number of recipients increased to 320,000, a sevenfold increase. The latter figure is known because in 46 BCE Caesar reduced

More generally, traditionalism and an antigrowth mentality were not fixed components of the basic personality of ancient societies. As Lippit (1980: 20-21) explained in his discussion of pre-industrial China, «By treating underdevelopment as a characteristic of traditional society... it fails to grasp underdevelopment as a historical *process*». Economic theorists, however, have been slow to recognize that government economic policies are capable of manufacturing 'peasants', 'traditionalists', and underemployed urban loafers where earlier there were none. Frank (1932: 88) observes:

By the middle of the fourth century this amazing social revolution had taken place throughout Italy. Nor were the poor freeholders in a much better condition, for they too, ground down by heavy taxation, found that the only escape from ruinous debts was to accept the protection and 'patronage' of rich and influential landlords, and this eventually placed them in the class of the bound tenantry.

The «rich and influential» individuals had the responsibility to pay the taxes owed by their (formerly) freeholder clients. (This substitution, as noted by Garnsey and Woolf (1989: 163-165) was largely at the expense of the *curiales*.) Taxation and other perverse economic policies transformed farmers into peasants.

The economically stifling land commune provides an informative illustration of this process. The commune is not a feature, as is often assumed, of primeval antiquity but an adaptation to the imposition by the state of joint responsibility for taxation (Silver 1995: 128-129). Once this is done, one's neighbors and, now, tax-partners, are understandably on guard against shirking and other tax-shifting behavior. Even the growing of novel crops is frowned upon as an attempt to evade one's tax obligations. Individuals hesitate to invest in (visible) durable consumer and producer goods and prefer instead to convert their assets into money which they bury deep. Having been transformed into a 'peasant', the previously independent farmer begins to behave in a 'traditional' manner. He eschews new products and technologies, is economically 'irrational' and is uninterested in markets. (Compare Samuel [1984: 197-202] on «unhurried peasant subsistence farming».) There occurs what might be called a

the number of recipients from 320,000 to 150,000 (Meijer 1990: 19 citing Suetonius, *Caes.* 41.3 and Cassius Dio XLIII 21.4). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (IV 25.5) claims that many owners of slaves freed them after Clodius' law to make the government responsible for a part of their maintenance. This is believable if the freed slaves were obligated to work for the (former) owners or if the slaves in question were no longer economically productive but were still being supported, by the owners.

demographic transition in reverse. *The villager emphasizes household reproduction not so much because of a behavior trait eschewing profit and consumption but because the collective mode of taxation limits his ability to accumulate productive capital, human and material.* People in a poverty-stricken commune may well choose to have larger families than residents in wealthy communities. The consumption of children and even their investment returns are beyond the reach of tax collectors and commune busybodies. Traditional societies were made in the past and they are being made today.

Taking a less conventional example from later Roman history one might say that joint responsibility for taxation, including the land tax, transformed the once proud *curiales*, property owning urban middle-class members of municipal senates (*decuriones*), into peasant/serf-like figures. Beginning at the end of the second century this group was made collectively responsible for public duties and the payment of taxes to the Emperor. In the fourth and fifth centuries the dire results became evident: Individual *curiales* sought to evade their responsibilities by means of a variety of expedients, including joining the church or even renouncing their property and adopting an ascetic life. We know a great deal about the compulsive methods used by the imperial authorities to prevent the escape of their cash-cows but not much about the behavioral adjustments within the *curiales* themselves.

It might be added that a series of laws following Diocletian's tax reform established a 'bound colonate': «It was essential that people [tenants and farm proprietors] should stay in their place of [census] registration as otherwise they could not be taxed. Movement was tax evasion» (Lewit 1991: 79). Changes in the economic productivity of land could have little place in this scheme. Roman law, to the extent that it could now be enforced, began to hinder economic growth rather than facilitating it.

LIMITS ON ROMAN GROWTH, ECONOMIC DECLINE, AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS

During the approximate period 1820-1890, the United Kingdom enjoyed a growth rate in real GDP per worker hour of 1.2% (cited by Saller 2002: 258 Table 12.1). Why did not Rome experience comparable growth rates? The first and most obvious point to consider is that the United Kingdom took center stage some 1,500 years after Rome's golden age. Surely there

were a number of economically relevant improvements in technology and science during this interval. Indeed, the West European Middle Ages are recognized as a great period of technological innovation (Ovitt 1986). Maddison (2004: 44-51) emphasizes technical improvements in ship design and navigation beginning in 1000 and, from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, progress in science with important consequences for navigation. Lipsey, Carlaw, and Bekar (2005: 259, 292) point to the importance of the three-masted sailing ship but give the prime place to the role of science in the invention of the steam engine.

It may be objected that some of this progress could have/should have been realized in Roman times. Perhaps, but today's scientific discoveries and inventions depend on yesterday's discoveries and inventions. The development of technology tends to be cumulative. As Wright (1997: 1561) has explained:

No matter how successful we [economists] may be in accounting for purposeful investments in the generation of knowledge, the historical record persistently reflects the impact of forces that are not readily accounted for in this way, something like 'technological opportunities' which we may describe...as having historical trajectories of their own...

Lipsey, Carlaw, and Bekar (2005: 221) point out that in existing formal models

growth occurs whenever an economy fulfils some small set of necessary conditions, usually concerned with saving and investment in growth models, and with investment in human capital for children and/or urbanization in the [endogenous-]population models. Indeed, practically all these models make modern sustained growth inevitable sooner or later for all economies.

Accordingly, the second and less obvious point to consider is that the Roman economy did not die a 'natural' death. My thesis, which I hope to demonstrate fully at a later time, is that the main executioners were Emperors who enforced economically perverse policies. At first, the harmful policies (for example 'free lunches' and regulation of grain prices) were altruistically motivated. Later, after much damage had been done, the policies became desperate and openly predatory³⁰. I would not

³⁰ A few references will have to suffice: Frank (1932: 103-106); A.H.M Jones (1964: 814-823, 1039) on the *agri deserti*; Lewit (1991: 71-79) and Mirković (1997) on the 'bound colonate'; and Corcoran (1996) on Diocletian's Prices Edict. See also note 22 and the surrounding text.

Should Domitian's (81-96 CE) edict on viticulture versus grain be classified as altruistic or predatory or ...? Suetonius (7.2; cf. 14.2) reports: «Once upon the occasion of a

blame the ‘barbarians’ for the demise of Rome. The Eastern Empire survived for a long time and failed to present the world with rapid and sustained economic growth. The Theodosian Code stands as an impressive testimony to the tight regulation of private enterprise by the Emperors in Constantinople. Next, after disposing of a few false clues, I will consider some of the specific ingredients missing from the Roman economy before its premature (?) demise.

To begin with, it may be said that the concept of ‘mass production’ is applicable to the ancient world generally and to Rome in particular (Silver 2006c). Mass production is understood as a *technique* for producing standardized craft goods involving division of labor/specialization and/or economies of scale. To illustrate, Roman antiquity was intimate with utilitarian objects made in molds. To take an important example, there are the signed lamps, often referred to as ‘factory lamps’, for which molds have been found in locations distant from Rome (Harris 1980: 135).

Further, the relative backwardness of transportation in particular did not prevent the emergence of interdependent markets (see e.g. Temin 2001). However, Saller (2002: 253) agrees with Finley that modern economic theory is inappropriate for antiquity because of an «incomparability in economic organization». The problem, he suggests, is the absence in antiquity of integrated markets:

Had the markets been fully integrated, there should not have been desperate grain shortages in individual cities, at the same time as other cities were well supplied... In such cases hungry urban dwellers did not depend solely on higher market prices to draw larger supplies from elsewhere in the [Roman] Empire but resort to imperial intervention... In an integrated market, this sort of supervision would have been superfluous because pricing would have drawn grain to areas in need. (Saller 2002: 254 with n. 2)

The problem is that if prices are not allowed to rise the market cannot reallocate the available supply of grain. Understandably, not being imbued with the trained suspicions of the modern economist, it does not occur to Saller that precisely the «imperial intervention» and not the absence of «fully integrated markets» kept the grain away from hungry cities. (In stark

plentiful wine crop, attended with a scarcity of grain, thinking that the fields were neglected through too much attention to the vineyards, he made an edict forbidding anyone to plant more vines in Italy and ordering that the vineyards in the provinces be cut down, or but half of them at most be left standing; but he did not persist in carrying out the measure» (Rolfe). Suetonius implies that the edict was not enforced or only enforced briefly. Levick (1982: 69-72) discusses evidence by contemporary scholars that the edict may have been put into effect in Africa.

contrast to classical economists, classical scholars often assume that if a policy was adopted by the rulers it must have been needed and well-conceived.) The classic example is provided by a serious famine at Antioch in 362/3 CE. Despite the enlightened protests of Libanius (*Orations* 1.126) and others, the Emperor Julian had responded to rising grain prices caused by a severe and prolonged drought with an edict of maximum prices and the sale of imported grain at prices below the market-clearing level. Julian's measures served mainly to misallocate the available stock of grain. Antioch's merchants stopped selling grain. Speculators purchased the grain brought to the market by Julian and sold it in the countryside where the maximum price could not be enforced (Libanius *Orations* 18.195; Downey 1951: 315-319; de Jonge 1948). The historian Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII 14.1) commented that «although sometimes, when this matter [maximum price regulations] is not properly regulated, it is wont to cause scarcity and famine» (Rolfé). That is, Julian's 'consumer-friendly' maximum price measure served not only to discourage imports but also to encourage the export of locally owned grain. The puzzled and now hated Julian explained that he had acted because «I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged [by the rich]» (Julian, *Misopogon* 370b, cited by Erdkamp 2002: 108)³¹. Anti-speculator measures discouraging the carryover of grain from one harvest to the next served mainly to increase the vulnerability of grain markets to output shocks and 'runs' in prices. The problem here was not transport costs/fragmented markets but a much more significant problem: failure to understand the economic facts of life. Alternatively, perhaps, we should understand the economic policies of the later emperors as a kind of 'Caesar madness', which caused them to believe that economic laws were subject to their veto. Thus, the early Christian writer Lactantius (VIII 6-7), who lived at the time, reports on the outcome of Diocletian's (Maximum) Price Edict:

Much blood was then shed over small and cheap items, in the general alarm nothing appeared for sale, and the rise in prices got much worse until, after many had met their deaths, sheer necessity led to the repeal of the law. (Creed)

Diocletian's perverse mentality is well illustrated in the Prologue to his Edict which refers to «evil men engaged in business» who «actually

³¹ Similarly, in 92/3 CE in Anatolian Antioch the governor Antistius Rusticus ordered a maximum price of grain and explained that «it is most unjust for the source of anyone's profit to be the hunger of his fellow citizens» (cited by de Ligt 2002: 16).

try to predict the wind and weather by watching the movement of the stars» (Giardina 1993: 251). There is, unfortunately, no shortage of additional examples of perverse regulation of grain (and other) prices that served mainly to disintegrate functioning markets.

Jongman (2000: 274), on the other hand, sees «modern economic analysis» as the best tool for understanding the urban food problem in antiquity but he seems to side with Saller when he adds: «Such economic analysis shows that an unrestrained free market could not guarantee a secure urban food supply: public intervention was unavoidable». Jongman (2000: 280) concludes that «For the city of Rome, only large-scale grain storage [by the Emperor] remained as a viable option — and this is what happened. When Septimus Severus died [211 CE], he had seven years of grain in the stores. Citizens of Rome could now protest that the grain was stale». This does not speak well for «public intervention».

High transport costs did, however, rule out the kind of breakthrough that we loosely term an ‘industrial revolution’. (Or, even more loosely, a ‘take off’). This is nicely illustrated by the explanation of why the Romans persisted in using animal-powered mills — itself, like hand mills, a Roman innovation — in their bakeries long after the invention of water-powered milling³². Note first, however, that Romans did use water-mills. Indeed, an inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia dated to about 200 CE refers to «‘the association/guild of those who own and/or work in water-mills’ ... In other words: this is not an inscription which testifies to the presence of one isolated water-mill; on the contrary, the text presupposes the omnipresence of water-mills in and/or around Hierapolis» (Pleket 1988: 27-28). The inscription does not tell us how the water-mills were employed. The problem with the technology arises because it would not generally have been cost-effective to relocate bakeries/grain-mills to sites with sufficient water and then to transport the bread/flour over longer distances, especially overland, to urban centers (Greene 1990: 215; compare Wikander 1984: 13). Also it would not generally have been cost-effective to move sufficient water to cities by means of canals³³. There are, in addition, difficulties in locating

³² Care is justified here. The issue is not the total cost of one technology versus another but the unit cost of output. See the response of Wikander (1984: 12) to Pleket on this issue.

³³ «A recent inscription from Syrian Antioch mentions a ‘canal of the fullers’, specially dug as a tributary of the main city river and making available enormous amounts of water to the *gnapheis*» (Pleket 1988: 28).

Pleket (1967: 13 with n. 2) is not very impressed with the line of argument stressing the availability of rivers and the provision of aqueducts. His inclination is to explain the neglect of laborsaving technology as an economic adaptation to a relatively low cost of

water-mills in urban areas: «While the animal-powered mill, even in larger bakeries, constitutes a closed unit inside the walls of a structure, the water-mill immediately affects its environment; navigable watercourses are closed, dams put large areas under water, mill-channels reduce the water supply of other users and must occasionally be carried over land belonging to others, etc.» (Wikander 1984: 14). Contemporary producers confronted with the same constraints would make the same choice. The more general and basic point is that transport costs limited the ability of the ancient economy to exploit differences in production costs engendered by variation in the natural environment.

In addition, the relative backwardness of transportation/communication in antiquity combined with relatively small population numbers to limit opportunities to exploit technologies relying on lumpy/indivisible (physical and human) capital goods. Similarly, they limited opportunities to exploit opportunities with significant fixed (or overhead) costs. Examples would include the once-for-all cost of developing a new technology or a new product or a new market. Where there are significant indivisibilities and/or fixed costs unit costs decline as more of a commodity/service is produced. The relatively small size of markets limited the opportunity to exploit these «economies of scale» (cf. Pleket 1968: 23). Often technologies and products delivering *lower* unit costs over a small initial range of production won out over those promising *decreasing* unit costs and, at a sufficiently large output, the *lowest* unit costs. A closely related problem is that small markets impeded the realization of potential gains from specialization/division of labor. As is well understood the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market (or exchange).

The time-determined deficiencies in the Roman economy that prevented it from realizing 'modern' economic growth also help to explain why it experienced retro-development. *Slow growth made the economy very sensitive to perverse economic policies*. Rome, and other prosperous pre-modern economies, simply had little margin for absorbing the consequences of large economic policy distortions. The kinds of altruistically inspired but counterproductive public policies that, in my view, caused Rome to decline and fall might only slow growth and retard the

labor relative to capital. Thus, Pleket (1967: 15) suggests that a kind of «reaping machine» was deployed only in northern Gaul because the rainy climate there «made it advisable to get in the harvest quickly and that labour was too scarce and expensive for this purpose». This is a reasonable argument. The problem, as Pleket (1967: 15) notes, is that «Our knowledge of the labour market in Gaul is almost a complete blank».

advance of living standards in the contemporary West³⁴. However, this is a matter of degree. The neo-classical postulate of exogenously given technological advance as an 'engine of growth' is valid within socially conditioned limits. Let the state amputate these wings and even the Western butterfly will no longer be capable of 'sustained' flight.

In closing, it is well to recognize that economists have *described* the 'industrial revolution' and the 'demographic transition'. Modeling the mechanics is a great achievement but it is not the same as *explaining* why they happened when and where they did. Surely, a number of economies must have been technologically ready to take-off in the late seventeenth century. Perhaps it was a matter of accident and good fortune that of these only England was institutionally ready to escape from the 'underdevelopment trap' (see Becker, Murphy and Tamura 1990: S32-S35). It may be theorized that the liberation of 'economic man' from regulatory constraints imposed by the state is a necessary condition for economic growth and the avoidance of retro-development or decline (see Silver 1980: Chap. 8). This perspective, characterized by some scholars as an 'ideological bias', has begun to penetrate mainstream neoclassical growth theory (see Parente and Prescott: 2000). A complete theory requires also an explanation of why states have historically been inclined to implement perverse economic policies (see Silver 1980: Part I). In any event, we may confidently predict that our successors will surely ponder why our, so very modern, twenty-first century failed to make the *x-revolution*.

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³⁴ Altruistically inspired public policies are likely to be counterproductive because policy-makers are rationally ignorant and because complex systems, including economic systems, are likely to be counterintuitive. The problems of 'rational ignorance' and 'counterintuitive complex systems' are discussed in Silver (1980, Chap. 3).

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RIELABORAZIONE ARTISTICA E FEDELITÀ CONCETTUALE IN AMMIANO XXVII 6.6-9 E 12-13

Abstract: Libera invenzione e rielaborazione artistica sono i due poli letterari, che attraverso una variabile interazione determinano la maggiore o minore aderenza *ad rem* dei discorsi presenti nelle opere storiografiche. Le *Res Gestae* di Ammiano Marcellino contengono unicamente discorsi imperiali, che sono pronunciati soltanto in specifiche circostanze; finora essi non hanno ricevuto la debita attenzione da parte degli studiosi moderni. Il mio articolo esamina un solo caso, cioè Ammiano XXVII 6.6-9 e 12-13: l'*oratio contionaria* di Valentiniano I per la nomina di Graziano ad *Augustus iunior* d'Occidente. Ho individuato cinque elementi, che ci propongono un dilemma molto interessante: Ammiano Marcellino ha rielaborato con sostanziale fedeltà la forma sintattica e i concetti del discorso originale, come io penso, ovvero ha applicato un'*etopoiesi* tanto efficace, da riprodurre con eccezionale verosimiglianza lo stile oratorio e le reali opinioni di Valentiniano I.

Il 24 Agosto 367 d.C. ad Ambiani/Amiens l'imperatore d'Occidente Valentiniano I nominò il suo primogenito Graziano *Augustus*, designandolo ufficialmente alla successione¹. In quella circostanza Valentiniano fece il primo passo per la creazione di una dinastia imperiale, che sostituisse quella costantiniana nella devozione dei sudditi e nella fedeltà dell'esercito; egli dunque rispettò rigorosamente tutte le forme cerimoniali, compresa la *contio* alle truppe, che ritualmente sancivano la nomina legittima di un collega ed erede designato da parte dell'imperatore regnante.

¹ Ammiano Marcellino omette vistosamente di specificare dove si sia tenuta la nomina di Graziano ad *Augustus iunior* d'Occidente; è necessario attendere fino a XXVII 8.1, per trovare un accenno cursorio e implicito alla località della cerimonia ufficiale: *Profectus itaque ab Ambianis Treuerosque festinans*. Ambiani/Amiens, città della *Belgica II*, è esplicitamente registrata come sede dell'evento politico da Girolamo, *Chron.* CCLXXXVI Olymp., Valentiniani et Valentis III *Gratianus Valentiniani filius Ambianis imperator factus*, p. 245 Helm; luogo e data in *Cons. Const.* ad a. 367, 2 *Et ipso anno leuatus est Gratianus Aug. in Galliis apud Ambianis in tribunali a patre suo Aug. Valentiniano die VIII kal. Sep.* = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 241 Mommsen. *Epit. de Caes.* 45.2 *hortatu socrus et uxoris* e Zosimo IV 12.2 *συνελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία λόγον αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι παρεκάλουν τοῦ διαδεξομένου τὴν βασιλείαν [...]* *πεισθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς λόγοις* sono contraddetti da Ammiano XXVII 6.4, che presenta la nomina di Graziano ad *Augustus iunior* d'Occidente come una deliberazione autonoma di Valentiniano.

Giovanni Battista Pighi osservò che nel libro XXVI di Ammiano Marcellino manca un discorso per la proclamazione di Valente ad *Augustus* proprio a causa delle particolari modalità, che essa aveva avuto rispetto a quella di Graziano². Valentiniano I nominò *Augustus* d'Oriente suo fratello Valente con una cerimonia informale, quasi privata, cui i soldati rimasero totalmente estranei³; invece Graziano fu nominato *Augustus iunior* d'Occidente da suo padre alla presenza di tutte le *scholae palatinae* e dell'intero *exercitus praesentalis* nel corso di una cerimonia solenne, tenuta in pubblico e pienamente conforme alle tradizioni istituzionali.

Lo stesso Pighi riconobbe quindici «discorsi maggiori» nelle *Res Gestae*⁴; essi sono dodici in senso stretto (discorsi pronunciati in pubblico), ma Pighi aggiunse anche tre lettere (una di Shapur II a Costanzo II, la relativa risposta di Costanzo II e una di Giuliano *Augustus* a Costanzo II). Quasi tutti sono *contiones* e *adlocutiones* imperiali alle truppe, tranne il discorso di Giuliano morente agli amici (XXV 3.15-20)⁵; il maggior numero di discorsi, cioè sei, è pronunciato appunto da Giuliano, due più di Costanzo II, il triplo di Valentiniano I (l'ultimo agli amici, più cinque ai soldati: XVI 12.9-12, in qualità di *Caesar* prima di Argentoratum; XX 5.3-7; XXI 5.2-8; XXIII 5.16-23; XXIV 3.3-7).

Costanzo II, di cui Ammiano Marcellino riferisce quattro discorsi, tutti ai soldati (XIV 10.11-16; XV 8.5-8,10,12-14; XVII 13.26-33; XXI 13.10-15), e Valentiniano I, di cui sono riportate soltanto le due principali orazioni alle truppe (XXVI 2.6-10; XXVII 6.6-9 e 12-13), risultano subordinati a Giuliano anche su questo piano della narrazione storiografica, secondo una progressione discendente di misura costante, che pone in ombra Valentiniano I anche rispetto al ruolo oratorio di Costanzo II.

Pighi inoltre notò giustamente tre particolari, che confermano l'esistenza di una gerarchia narrativa tra Giuliano, Costanzo II e Valentiniano, e l'attribuzione di un ruolo minore a Valentiniano anche in ambito oratorio⁶; infatti Ammiano Marcellino riporta soltanto i discorsi dei principi nei tre momenti supremi della loro vita (investitura di un collega o assunzione della corona, guerra e morte), ma fa pronunciare discorsi di guerra

² G.B. PIGHI, *I discorsi nelle Storie d'Ammiano Marcellino*, Milano 1936, p. 42-43.

³ Ammiano XXVI 4.3.

⁴ G.B. PIGHI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 29-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

solo a Costanzo II e Giuliano⁷, e per giunta il solo Giuliano morente rivolge un discorso di congedo ai suoi amici⁸.

Il discorso di Valentiniano, suddiviso in due parti e intervallato dalla vera e propria cerimonia di investitura imperiale (XXVII 6.6-9 e 12-13), ha il tono e i contenuti di una genuina *contio militaris*. La prima parte consiste di una concisa ed abilissima perorazione all'esercito (cioè ai soldati delle *scholae palatinae* e dell'*exercitus praesentalis*, rappresentanti rituali di tutto l'esercito occidentale), e culmina rassicurando l'assemblea dei *milites* sulle qualità morali e marziali di Graziano nel futuro; la seconda sono i solenni *praecepta* di Valentiniano a suo figlio, tutti incentrati sulla *res militaris*.

Mi sembra utile il confronto tra i *munera militaria* di Ammiano Marcellino (XXVII 6.9 e 12) e quelli di Claudiano, *De III cons. Hon.* 39-50 e *De IV cons. Hon.* 320-352, anche se in questo caso escludo assolutamente l'imitazione dello storiografo da parte del poeta; ma lo specifico paragone con Claudiano può contribuire a illustrare meglio la posizione originale dei discorsi ammianeî nell'ambito della retorica tardoantica⁹. Le differenze maggiori sono tre, e tutte provano la maggiore creatività di Ammiano Marcellino in confronto a Claudiano:

(1) Ammiano Marcellino parla sempre per bocca di Valentiniano I, e si preoccupa di adeguare la forma espressiva e gli argomenti alla genuina personalità e alle opinioni effettive dell'imperatore; Claudiano descrive in termini topici la presunta educazione marziale di Onorio sotto la guida di suo padre (*De III cons. Hon.* 39-50), senza rispetto della realtà storica, o indossa strumentalmente la maschera di Teodosio I per una serie completa e monumentale di ammonimenti topici su tutti i doveri del buon imperatore (*De IV cons. Hon.* 214-352), senza curarsi della verosimiglianza psicologica;

(2) Valentiniano pronuncia un'*oratio contionaria* scandita in due parti dalla *nuncupatio Augusta*, rivolgendosi prima ai soldati (Ammiano XXVII 6.6-9), poi allo stesso Graziano (XXVII 6.12-13); Teodosio parla al solo Onorio nell'intimità del palazzo imperiale, dopo averlo già nominato *Augustus* (*De IV cons. Hon.* 212-213);

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41-42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46-47.

⁹ Il confronto ulteriore di Ammiano Marcellino e Claudiano con Sinesio, *De regn.* 12B-14B dimostra che gli stessi τόποι potevano essere elaborati in tre maniere parallele ma differenti, ognuna delle quali esprime l'applicazione personale degli insegnamenti retorici.

(3) Valentiniano/Ammiano Marcellino concentra i pronostici e le esortazioni del suo discorso sui doveri militari, di cui sono menzionati soltanto i più significativi, e li riferisce a circostanze generiche di guerra effettiva; Teodosio/Claudiano li pone soltanto al termine delle sue esortazioni (*De IV cons. Hon.* 320-352), e redige una rassegna cumulativa e topica di esercitazioni militari e di comportamenti esemplari (*ibid.* 320-328 e 337-352), intervallandoli con manualistici precetti d'arte ossidionale (*ibid.* 328-336), che nel 393 d.C., quando Onorio fu nominato *Augustus*, era sicuramente poco attuale, regnando la pace ed il buon vicinato con la Persia sasanide.

Giovanni Viansino ha creduto di ravvisare una dichiarazione degli «ideali» ammiane sui «vertici del potere» nei discorsi di Costanzo II e di Valentiniano I alle truppe, pronunciati l'uno in occasione della nomina di Giuliano a *Caesar*, l'altro quando Graziano fu proclamato *Augustus*¹⁰; egli ritiene che i discorsi dei due imperatori «debbono giustificare davanti le truppe queste manovre 'dinastiche', questo loro nepotismo (XV, 8, 5; XXVII, 6, 5 [*sic!*])»¹¹. Io ritengo errate entrambe le opinioni; infatti i due discorsi imperiali dell'esade finale molto probabilmente sono stati adattati da Ammiano Marcellino con libera fedeltà alla versione originale, visto che possiamo verificare l'attendibilità sostanziale del primo, cioè XXVI 2.6-10.

Anche su un altro punto non concordo affatto con Viansino, che vede in *commilitones* di Ammiano XXVII 6.12 «l'apostrofe tipica per accattivars[i] le simpatie [dei soldati]», e lo ritiene un «termine militaresco, rozzo»¹². Valentiniano là non si rivolge direttamente ai soldati apostrofandoli con questo appellativo a scopo di adulazione, ma li omaggia indirettamente con esso in apertura delle sue esortazioni al figlio: «*En*» *inquit* «*habes, mi Gratiane, amictus (ut sperauimus omnes) augustos, meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio delatos ominibus faustis*» (rispetto a Clark e Seyfarth, preferisco racchiudere *ut sperauimus omnes* tra parentesi, considerandolo un inciso encomiastico). A questo proposito mi sembra molto significativa l'assenza totale del termine familiare *commilitones* nel primo discorso di Valentiniano ai soldati (Ammiano XXVI

¹⁰ G. VIANISINO, *Studi sulle "Res Gestae" di Ammiano Marcellino*, Salerno 1977, p. 32-33.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid.*: Viansino chiama a confronto Giulio Cesare (Suetonio, *Iul.* 67.2), Otone (Tacito, *Hist.* I 83.2) e sei passi della *Historia Augusta* (*Diad.* 1.4; *Alex. Seu.* 53.5; *Maxim.* 18.1; *Gord.* 14.1; *Tyr. trig.* 8.8 e 23.3).

2.6-10), quando l'imperatore fresco di acclamazione vuole imporre la sua autorità ai soldati, che reclamano la nomina immediata di un secondo *Augustus*. Durante la proclamazione di Graziano ad imperatore i *commilitones* di Valentiniano sono, per così dire, il secondo attore e il coro della cerimonia politico-militare; a XXVII 6.12 l'uso dell'appellativo non rappresenta un mero ed abusato strumento di *captatio beneuolentiae*, ma un riconoscimento onorifico del ruolo reale e rituale, che i soldati erano soliti rivestire in occasione di una *nuncupatio Augusta*.

Ritornando ad Ammiano XXVI 2.6-10, François Paschoud ha giustamente osservato che Sozomeno, Filostorgio e Teodoreto di Cyrrihus attribuiscono al primo discorso di Valentiniano I un contenuto identico a quello delle *Res Gestae*¹³; accantonando la *Quellenforschung* (qui inopportuna e superflua), mi sembra lecito ipotizzare che Ammiano Marcelino abbia rielaborato entrambi i discorsi mantendosi fedele alla loro sostanza, che egli ha riprodotto non *ad uerbum*, ma *ad rem*¹⁴. Per quanto riguarda l'*oratio contionaria* del 24 Agosto 367 d.C., credo di avere individuato almeno cinque dati, che dimostrano la fondatezza di tale tesi.

Léon Dautremér già aveva rilevato la conformità stilistica dei discorsi imperiali al resto dell'opera, ma aveva anche evidenziato che «Ammien a conservé à chacun d'eux sa physionomie propre, correspondant au caractère du personnage qui l'a prononcé»¹⁵; ad esempio, Costanzo II si esprime sempre in modo grave e misurato, adoperando un tono composto e sentenzioso, Valentiniano I invece adotta un linguaggio molto più semplice e più chiaro.

L'imperatore d'Occidente, sia quando pronostica ai soldati il futuro comportamento di Graziano (Ammiano XXVII 6.9), sia quando esorta il suo erede a una degna condotta (XXVII 6.12), si esprime in forma paratattica e asindetica, che probabilmente riproduce le sue consuetudini in materia di stile oratorio (nell'*elogium* Ammiano Marcelino lo definisce appunto *memoria sermoneque incitato quidem sed raro facundiae*

¹³ F. PASCHOUD, *Valentinien travesti, ou: De la malignité d'Ammien*, in J. DEN BOEFT, D. DEN HENGST, H.C. TEITLER (eds.), *Cognitio Gestorum. The Historiographic Art of Ammianus Marcellinus* [Proceedings of the Colloquium, Amsterdam 26-28 August 1991], Amsterdam 1992, p. 72: Sozomeno VI 6 = PG LXVII, 1309; Filostorgio VIII 8 = PG LXV, 564; Teodoreto di Cyrrihus, *Hist. Eccl.* IV 5 = PG LXXXII, 1129.

¹⁴ Così anche P. DE JONGE, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVII*, Groningen 1977, p. 374, on 17, 13, 26: «He aims at a reliable rendering of the general tenor of what was really said, but language and style are Ammianus' own work».

¹⁵ L. DAUTREMER, *Ammien Marcellin. Étude d'histoire littéraire*, Lille 1899, p. 230-231.

*proximo uigens*¹⁶); a XXVII 6.9 mi sembra opportuna una differente punteggiatura del testo rispetto alle edizioni di Charles Upson Clark e di Wolfgang Seyfarth, per valorizzare la scelta ammiana della lunga coordinazione per asindeto:

Vt enim mihi uideri solet mores eius et adpetitus licet nondum maturos saepe pensanti, ineunte adulescentia, quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium expolitus, librabit suffragiis puris merita recte secusue factorum, faciet ut sciant se boni intellegi, in pulchra facinora procurabit, signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus. Solem niuesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et uigilias; castris, si necessitas adegerit aliquotiens, propugnabit, salutem pro periculis sociis obiectabit et, quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere poterit et auitam.

Graziano era nato sicuramente nel 359 d.C.¹⁷, il 18 Aprile¹⁸, ovvero il 23 Maggio¹⁹, e nell'Agosto 367 d.C. aveva nove anni secondo il computo romano; il contemporaneo Simmaco²⁰, così come l'*Epitome de Caesaribus* e Zosimo²¹, gli attribuiscono approssimativamente un'età preadolescenziale in senso romano, cioè inferiore a quindici anni. Ammiano Marcellino in vesti di narratore a XXVII 6.5 e 15 chiama correttamente Graziano *puer*, ma a XXVII 6.4 *Gratianum filium suum adulto iam proximum* sembra stranamente contraddirsi; lo storiografo in realtà anticipa in modo coerente un'affermazione della *contio* (XXVII 6.8 *Gratianum hunc meum adultum*), per ricostruire in maniera verosimile le riflessioni personali dell'imperatore sulla nomina di un collega e successore.

Se accettiamo la presenza di elementi tratti dal discorso originale nella versione ammiana, l'alterazione anagrafica può essere ricondotta allo stesso Valentiniano I; egli riconosceva con astuzia retorica le evidenti e innegabili lacune di Graziano agli occhi di un'assemblea militare (XXVII 6.8 *non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis ut nos educatum, nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum nec capacem adhuc Martii pulueris, ut*

¹⁶ Ammiano XXX 9.4.

¹⁷ Girolamo, *Chron.* CCLXXXIII Olymp., Constantini, Constantii et Constantis XXII 3 *Gratianus, qui nunc imperator est, nascitur*, p. 241 Helm.

¹⁸ *Cons. Const.* ad a. 359, 1 = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 239 Mommsen.

¹⁹ *Chron. Pasch.* I, p. 543 DINDORF.

²⁰ Simmaco, *Or.* I 3 *hinc factum est, quod primaevum nepotem castrensia decreta legerrunt* (allusione ai meriti militari di Graziano il Vecchio, nonno paterno di Graziano iunior); III 4 *de indole pueri*, 5 *regni impuberem candidatum*, 6 *teneritudo primaeva*.

²¹ *Epit. de Caes.* 45.4 *necdum plenum puberem* — Zosimo IV 12.2 τὸν παῖδα Γρατιανὸν [...] ὄντα νέον ἔτι καὶ οὐπω πρὸς ἡβὴν ἐλθόντα τελείαν.

uidetis), ma velava abilmente il maggiore difetto del suo erede, l'età precocissima, oscurata anche dall'espressione eufemistica di XXVII 6.9 *licet nondum maturos*, dove un punto di vista oggettivo avrebbe imposto di dire *etiamtum pueriles*.

Nel corso del IV secolo d.C. i Romani consideravano le *litterae* parte integrante e segno distintivo della superiorità sociale²², e Ammiano Marcellino condivideva pienamente questa convinzione²³. Ammiano XXVII 6.9 *quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium expolitus* può esprimere una reale asserzione di Valentiniano I nel suo discorso alle truppe, o perlomeno rappresenta un'etopoiesi efficace da parte dello storiografo; infatti è evidente il pragmatismo dell'approccio alla cultura classica, che è volta ad una funzione pratica e un fine specifico, cioè a conferire la capacità di valutare giustamente l'opera dei subordinati, e la volontà di compiere imprese valorose. In questa ottica Valentiniano sembra enunciare una convinzione personale, e allo stesso tempo adeguare i suoi argomenti agli ascoltatori, cioè ai soldati dell'*exercitus praesentalis*. La menzione esplicita del valore bellico è posta in climax ascendente al terzo e ultimo membro della triplice paronomasia *factorum — faciet — facinora*; la tipica *rallonge* del part. futuro *adhaesurus* sottolinea ulteriormente l'importanza fondamentale dei *pulchra facinora*, e dichiara la pertinenza complessiva delle tre proposizioni principali alla sfera militare.

Proprio nel 367 d.C. l'imperatore d'Occidente chiamò a Treveri l'illustre *grammaticus* aquitano Decimo Magno Ausonio, per affidargli l'istruzione di Graziano²⁴, e nel 370 d.C. Simmaco tributava grandi lodi a

²² R.C. BLOCKLEY, *Ammianus Marcellinus. A Study of his Historiography and Political Thought* (Coll. Latomus, 141), Bruxelles 1975, p. 158: «now the major function of education was the transmission of culture, worn in many cases like a mark of class and a badge of superiority». Cfr. anche O. PECERE, *La tradizione dei testi latini tra IV e V secolo attraverso i libri sottoscritti*, in A. GIARDINA (a cura di), *Società Romana e Impero Tardoantico. Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura*, vol. IV, Roma-Bari 1986, p. 30-40, 59-69, 74-76.

²³ E.A. THOMPSON, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, Cambridge 1947, p. 13-14; R.C. BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 158-159.

²⁴ Ausonio, *Praef.* I 25-34 Schenkl; *Protrep.* 82-88. Già l'imperatore Costantino aveva manifestato un uguale sollecitudine per l'istruzione classica dei suoi figli ed eredi; tre testimonianze rivestono un particolare interesse: Eusebio di Cesarea, *Vita Const.* IV 51 = PG XX, 1201 (Costantino scelse per i suoi figli καὶ τῶν ἑξῶθεν δὲ λόγων καθηγητὰς ἑτέρους, ἦκοντας εἰς ἄκρον παιδεύσεως); Libanio, *Or.* LIX 33-34 (l'istruzione di Costanzo II e di Costante è stata curata sotto tutti gli aspetti dai migliori docenti della loro epoca); Ausonio, *Comm. prof. Burdig.* 16.13-15 (Aemilius Magnus Arborius *praeceptor* imperiale a Costantinopoli, probabilmente di Costante).

Valentiniano quale *restitutor litterarum*²⁵; due delle sue leggi riguardano la cultura e il settore scolastico. Una è poco incisiva e altamente formale, poiché nel rispetto della tradizione conferma ai professori le esenzioni fiscali e l'immunità dagli obblighi curiali e dai *sordida munera*²⁶. Ma nell'altra abbiamo innovazioni originali, cioè un regolamento disciplinare per gli studenti dell'Urbe, e la segnalazione sistematica degli studenti ai *sacra scrinia* attraverso *breues* annuali del *praefectus Vrbi*, affinché l'amministrazione palatina potesse reclutare i migliori nelle proprie file²⁷; nel passo ammiano riscontriamo appunto il medesimo pragmatismo nei confronti della cultura.

Ammiano XXVII 6.12 *adsuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu peruios Histrum et Rhenum* rifonde con grande originalità il τόπος del fiume ghiacciato e calpestato dai cavalli o dai carri dei barbari²⁸, sostituendolo allo strumento tradizionale dell'esercito romano per l'attraversamento dei fiumi, cioè il *pons naualis*²⁹, che risulta largamente menzionato anche nelle *Res Gestae*³⁰; invece Claudiano, quando attribuisce

²⁵ Simmaco, *Or.* II 29-30.

²⁶ *C. Theod.* XIII 3.10, 368 o 370 d.C.

²⁷ *C. Theod.* XIV 9.1 *Imppp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus AAA. ad Olybrium praefectum Vrbi. Quicumque ad urbem discendi cupiditate ueniunt, primitus ad magistrum census prouincialium iudicum, a quibus copia est data ueniendi, eiusmodi litteras perferant, ut oppida hominum et natales et merita expressa teneantur [...]* Verum ne haec perfunctorie fortasse curentur, praecelsa sinceritas tua officium censuale commoneat, ut per singulos menses, qui uel unde ueniant quique sint pro ratione temporis ad Africam uel ad ceteras prouincias remittendi, breuibus comprehendat, his dumtaxat exceptis, qui corporatorum sunt oneribus adiuncti. Similes autem breues etiam ad scrinia mansuetudinis nostrae annis singulis dirigantur, quo meritis singulorum institutionibusque compertis utrum quandoque nobis sint necessarii iudicemus, 12 Marzo 370 d.C.

²⁸ Su storia ed evoluzione del τόπος generale, cfr. F. HORNSTEIN, *ΙΣΤΡΟΣ ΑΜΑΞΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ*, in *Gymnasium* 64 (1957), p. 154-160.

²⁹ Durante l'età altoimperiale Arriano, *Anab.* V 7.2-5 e Cassio Dione LXXI 3.1 ne offrono due descrizioni molto dettagliate, e come Ammiano Marcellino parlano di νῆες; in età costantiniana abbiamo il cenno cursorio di *Pan. Lat.* XII 22.6 Mynors *Toto Rheni alueo oppleto nauibus deuectus* (cfr. anche Vegezio, *r. mil.* II 25.5 e III 7.7-8). L'artificio tecnico del *pons naualis* sopravviveva ancora negli anni 580 d.C., quando Maurizio, *Strateg.* XII B 21 menziona generici σκεύη, τουτέστι ναύκλας μεγάλας.

³⁰ Qui basta citare i soli passi, dove la natura del ponte è esplicitamente indicata: Ammiano XIV 10.6 *pontem suspendere nauium compage* (Reno); XVII 10.1 *contextoque nauali ponte* (Reno), 12.4 *super nauium foros ponte contexto* (medio Danubio), 13.16 *nauigia iussa sunt colligi* (medio Danubio); XXI 7.7 *per Capersanam Euphrate nauali ponte transcurso*; XXIII 2.7 *Euphrate nauali ponte transmisso*, 3.9 *quinquaginta aliae* [scil. *naues*] *bellatrices totidemque ad compaginandos necessariae pontes*, 5.4 *per naualem Aborae pontem*; XXIV 7.4 *quas* [scil. *naues minores duodecim*] *profuturas pangen-dis pontibus disposuit uehi carpentis* e 8 *nec contabulandi pontis erat facultas amissis nauibus temere* (Tigri); XXVII 5.2 *ponteque contabulato supra nauium foros* e 6 *per*

fittiziamente a Stilicone il passaggio del Danubio gelato, ancora menziona i mezzi tipici dei barbari, il carro (*De III cons. Hon.* 150) e il cavallo (*De cons. Stil.* I 125-126).

La fanteria ebbe un ruolo egemonico nell'esercito occidentale fino agli ultimi anni del IV secolo d.C., e il pubblico letterario certamente condivideva con Ammiano Marcellino la nozione generica di tale preminenza. La frase ammiana è efficace anche per la piena corrispondenza alle reali opinioni di Valentiniano I in materia di *res militaris*; l'imperatore d'Occidente diede effettivamente il primato strategico alla fanteria, soprattutto agli *auxilia palatina*, formandone diciotto: *Angriuarii* (*angleuarii* mss.) e *Falchouarii*³¹, *Raetouarii* e *Bucinobantes*³², *Defensores*, *Vindices*, *Atecottii*³³, *Gratianenses sen.*, *Bructeri*, *Ampsiuarii*, *Gratianenses iun.*, *Valentinianenses iun.*, che implicano l'esistenza e la successiva distruzione dei **Valentinianenses sen.*, *Raeti* e *Sequani*, *Latini* e *Sabini*, *Felices Valentinianenses*³⁴.

Gli *agmina peditum* di XXVII 6.12 ci propongono un'affascinante alternativa. Lo storiografo, sviluppando abilmente una reminiscenza consapevole di Ovidio, *Pont.* IV 10.32 *hic freta uel pediti peruia reddit hiems*, ha adattato il τόπος letterario del fiume ghiacciato alle opinioni

Nouidunum nauibus ad transmittendum amnem conexas (basso Danubio); XXIX 4.2 *nequi conserendo officeret ponti, iunxit nauibus Rhenum*; XXX 5.13 *nauiisq; ad repentinum casum coniunctis et contabulato celeri studio ponte* (medio Danubio).

³¹ *Not. Dign. Or.* V 59 e VI 59 = Ammiano XXVIII 5.4 (Sassoni).

³² *Not. Dign. Or.* V 58 (Alamanni contigui al territorio retico); VI 58 = Ammiano XXIX 4.7 (Alamanni settentrionali *contra Mogontiacum*).

³³ *Not. Dign. Or.* V 57; VI 57; IX 29.

³⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ.* V 181, 187-192, 194-195, 208. La formazione di tali reparti a opera di Valentiniano I trova un riscontro generico in Zosimo IV 12.1 νεολαίαν οὖν ὅτι πλείστην ἀθροίσας ἐκ τε τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Ῥήνῳ βαρβάρων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἔθνεσι γεωργῶν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἐγκαταλέξας τάγμασιν. *Angriuarii* e *Falchouarii* (= Sassoni), *Bucinobantes* e *Raetouarii* (= Alamanni), *Bructeri* e *Ampsiuarii* (= Franchi renani, come si desume da Sulpicio Alessandro in Gregorio Turonense, *Hist. Franc.* II 9: cfr. anche *Pan. Lat.* VI 12.1 e IV 18.1 Mynors), sono certamente οἱ προσοικούντες τῷ Ῥήνῳ βάρβαροι; invece *Raeti*, *Sequani*, *Latini* e *Sabini* furono arruolati tra gli abitanti romani di *Raetia I* e *II*, *Maxima Sequanorum*, *dioecesis Italiciana* e *suburbicariae prouinciae* (il reclutamento degli Italici era normale ancora nella seconda metà del IV secolo d.C.: Ammiano XV 12.3; *C. Theod.* VII 13.3-4 *ad Magnum uicarium urbis Romae*, 27 Aprile 367 d.C.), e soddisfano pienamente la perifrasi οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἔθνεσι γεωργοί. Per la grande maggioranza di questi reggimenti (quattordici) la datazione valentiniana già in D. HOFFMANN, *Das Bewegungsheer und das Notitia Dignitatum*, I, Düsseldorf 1969, p. 165-168; ma lo studioso tedesco dà un'interpretazione cervelotica dei nomi reggimentali *Latini* e *Sabini*, che rappresenterebbero un artificio verbale a scopo propagandistico, per velare opportunamente il reclutamento integrale di entrambi i reggimenti tra i Germani transrenani.

strategiche di Valentiniano e alle reali caratteristiche del suo esercito, per dare credibilità ed efficacia alla frase; altrimenti è necessario individuare anche qui un'eco genuina dell'*oratio contionaria*, che l'imperatore veramente pronunciò il 24 Agosto 367: io preferisco la seconda opzione.

Infine un'osservazione filologica su XXVII 6.12 *nihil alienum putare quod ad Romani imperii pertinet latus*. La lezione *latus* di V è rigettata come corruzione a partire da Moritz Haupt, che ipotizzò *salut*³⁵, poi recepito nell'edizione di Viktor Gardthausen; Clark e Seyfarth stampano concordi la congettura *statu<m>* di Wilhelm Heraeus, che in realtà si limitò a modificare leggermente la correzione già proposta da Michael Petschenig, *status*³⁶. Raoul Verdière ha difeso giustamente la lezione di V, che insieme alla menzione ammiana del Reno e del Danubio in apertura di periodo gli sembra essere un prestito proveniente da Lucano VIII 424-425 *uel arctoum Dacis Rhenique cateruis / imperii nudare latus* (cfr. anche Floro, *Epit.* I 40.2 *nudumque latus imperi*); Verdière individua anche un altro prestito linguistico in questa frase delle *Res Gestae*, più precisamente da Terenzio, *Heaut.* 77 *homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto*³⁷.

L'espressione metaforica *imperii latus* trova numerosi paralleli soprattutto nell'ambito delle *Res Gestae* (XIV 2.13 *commeatus distribui militibus omne latus Isauriae defendentibus adsueti* e 7.1 *Orientis latera cuncta*; XXI 13.1 *ne mox partes petiturus arctoas inprotectum Mesopotamiae relinqueret latus*; XXX 4.1 *Haec per Gallias et latus agebantur arctoum* e 5.3 *quorum perfidia uel secessione Pannoniarum nudatum est latus*; XXXI 6.5 *per Thraciarum latus omne dispersi*), ma anche nei modelli e nelle fonti di Ammiano Marcellino³⁸, così come in altri autori del IV secolo d.C.³⁹; essa rappresenta una *uariatio* erudita ed

³⁵ M. HAUPT, *Emendantur Ammiani Marcellini historiae. Index lectionum aestivalium* 1874, in ID., *Opuscula*, II, Leipzig 1876, p. 503.

³⁶ M. PETSCHENIG, *Bemerkungen zum Texte des Ammianus Marcellinus*, in *Philologus* 51 (1892), p. 683.

³⁷ R. VERDIÈRE, *Notes de lecture. Ammien Marcellin* 27, 6, 12, in *Latomus* 29 (1970), p. 1072.

³⁸ Tito Livio XLIII 18.3 *Macedoniae latus*; Valerio Massimo VII 4 *Rom.* 4 *alterum Italiae latus*; Mela II 27 *alterum Chersonesi latus* e 67 *Italiae latus alterum*; III 16 *Galliae latus alterum*; Plinio il Vecchio IV 113 *Hispaniae latus*; VI 163 e 178 *Arabiae latere*, 180 *Ex Africae latere*, 191 *Libyae latere*; Valerio Flacco V 165 *immensum Ponti latus*; Silio Italico I 195 *ingens Asiae latus*; Tacito, *Hist.* II 17.1 *Florentissimum Italiae latus*; Solino 23.5 *Hispaniae latus* e 10 *Celtiberiae latus*.

³⁹ Nazario, *Pan. Lat.* IV 38.3 *Mynors iacet in latere Galliarum aut in sinu suo fusa barbaria*; Ausonio, *Grat. act.* 82 *per totum, quam longum est, latus Illyrici*; Avieno, *Orb.*

allusiva di XV 8.7 *imperii fines* (discorso di Costanzo II alle truppe per la nomina di Giuliano a *Caesar*). I contesti di entrambe le *iuncturae* risultano omologhi sul piano narrativo, ma l'*oratio contionaria* di Valentiniano I conferisce speciale rilievo alla difesa dei confini romani, collocandola in chiusura di periodo e all'apice dei *praecepta*; i due prestiti indicano che Ammiano Marcellino sottolinea consapevolmente la frase. Anche qui abbiamo un dilemma tra eccellente etopoiesi e rielaborazione fedele; infatti tale esortazione appare pienamente conforme alla peculiare e scrupolosissima *cura limitum* da parte di Valentiniano⁴⁰.

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terr. 394 *Nunc tibi et Europae fabor latus* e 695 *Europae laeuum latus*; *Ora mar.* 375 *propter Europae latus*.

⁴⁰ Ammiano XXVIII 2.1-4 e 5.11; XXIX 4.1 e 6.2; XXX 3.1, 7.5-6, 9.1.

RECONSIDERING THE DATE OF PHOTIUS' *BIBLIOTHECA*:
THE BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION OF GREGORY THE GREAT IN
CHAPTER 252*

Abstract: The paper reconsiders the question of the date of composition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*. Starting from the analysis of chapter 252, dedicated to Gregory the Great, and from the Greek and Latin biographical tradition on Gregory, it tries to contribute new data to the discussion.

1. The circumstances of the composition of Photius' *Bibliotheca* are still a debated topic in classical and Byzantine scholarship. The main evidence is provided by Photius himself in the dedicatory letter and in the postscript of the work, both addressed to his brother Tarasius. In the preface Photius states that he composed his work relying on his memory ὅσας αὐτῶν ἡ μνήμη διέσωζε, a statement clearly at odds with the message conveyed in the postscript, where he speaks about his reading books «from the time when I acquired some perception and judgement»¹. In the preface he also says that he had to join a diplomatic delegation to the Assyrians (Arabs)², but we do not know with certainty whether this embassy took place and when. Different theories have been put forward on the basis of these autobiographical data and up to the present day a consensus still has not been reached. For a long time scholars were prepared to consider Photius' statement about the embassy to the Arabs factual and reliable and they placed the composition of the *Bibliotheca* in 855³. In 1963 the 'Bollandist' François Halkin reopened the question and suggested a re-evaluation of the date of composition on the basis of chapter 252. Even since, this chapter has played an important role in the

* The present article is an expanded and modified version of a paper I read at Catholic University of Leuven on 27 November 2006, *Photius' Bibliotheca and the Date of its Composition*. I thank prof. Guido Schepens and dr. Jan Bollansée for helpful comments and criticism on the draft version.

¹ Translation by N.G. WILSON, *Photius. The Bibliotheca*, a selection translated with notes, London 1994, p. 260.

² Cf. Bekker, 1,1: Ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίους αἰρεθέντας.

³ For a summary of the question, see W.T. TREADGOLD, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, Washington (D.C.) 1980, p. 12-36.

controversy⁴. It is dedicated to Gregory the Great and is one of eight chapters in all of the *Bibliotheca* that deal with lives of saints⁵. Although hagiography did not receive, in the *Bibliotheca*, a treatment as extensive as apologetics, homilies, church history, dogmatic and exegetical works, the presence of hagiographical works testifies to Photius' interest in this genre⁶.

Chapter 252 contains a selective description of the life of Gregory the Great (Ἀνεγνώσθη Γρηγορίου τοῦ διαλόγου ὁ βίος οὗ ἡ ἔκδοσις ἐκλογὴν τινα ἀναγράφει⁷). Photius only relates two episodes concerning a meeting between Gregory and a shipwrecked man. In the first, the man addresses Gregory and begs for money up to three times in a single day, in the Roman monastery of Saint Andrew the Apostle in *Clivus Scauri*, which was founded by Gregory in person. In the second episode, the same man takes part in a banquet with Gregory and eventually turns out to be an angel sent by God to take care of him. The end of the chapter is a brief survey of the literary works of Gregory, with a special mention of the Greek translation of his *Dialogues* made by Zacharias, who was Pope between 741 and 752⁸.

⁴ F. HALKIN, *La date de composition de la «Bibliothèque» de Photius remise en question*, AB 81 (1963), p. 414-417.

⁵ The remaining being chapter 96 on the Life of John Chrysostom, 253 on the Martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, 254 on the Martyrdom of Timothy the Apostle, 255 on the Martyrdom of St. Demetrius, 256 on the Life of Sts. Metrophanes and Alexander, 257 on the Life of Paul the Confessor of Constantinople and 258 on the Life of Athanasius the Great.

⁶ Cf. T. HÄGG, *Photios as a Reader of Hagiography: Selection and Criticism*, DOP 53 (1999), p. 43-58.

⁷ This is the version of the manuscript Marcianus Gr. 450 (A). In his edition Henry has printed the incorrect reading of the Marcianus Gr. 451, signed M (Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκλογαὶ τοῦ θεαρέστου βίου Γρηγορίου, ὃς ἱεροπρεπῶς ἀρχιερατεύσας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τοὺς βιωφελεστάτους τέσσαρας διαλόγους ἐφιλοπονήσατο), because he follows Bekker's edition. Cf. R. HENRY, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, VII, Paris 1974, p. 207. On the text tradition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*, see E. MARTINI, *Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel*, I. Teil, *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übertragungen*, Leipzig 1911; G. CAVALLO, *Per le mani e la datazione del codice Ven. Marc. gr. 450*, QS 49 (1999), p. 157-174; P. ELEUTERI, *I manoscritti greci della «Biblioteca» di Fozio*, QS 51 (2000), p. 111-156.

⁸ On Zacharias and the cultural life in his papal court, see P. DELOGU, s.v. *Zaccaria santo*, in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, I, Roma 2000, p. 656-660; J. OSBORNE, *Papal Court Culture during the Pontificate of Zacharias (AD 741-752)*, in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages. The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. by C. CUBITT, Turnhout 2003, p. 223-234. On the Greek translation of Gregorian *Dialogues*, see R. LIZZI, *La traduzione greca delle opere di Gregorio Magno: dalla Regula Pastoralis ai Dialogi*, in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo* [XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in

François Halkin⁹ recognized the source of Photius' Life of Gregory the Great in a Latin life of the Pope composed in four books by John Hymmonides in Rome between 873-876, at the request of Pope John VIII. According to Halkin, Greek monks living in Rome, who were able to read and understand Latin, subsequently extracted and translated from Hymmonides' Life of Gregory the two episodes concerning the shipwrecked man. The result was the creation of a shorter life of Gregory. The shortened Greek version of the Life was then sent to Constantinople and there Photius could have had access to it. Consequently, chapter 252 could not have been written before 876, but was probably composed during Photius' second Patriarchate (877-886). Halkin identified a copy of the Greek version as text number 721 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (BHG)¹⁰. Halkin's discovery was anticipated by Eligius Dekkers¹¹ and was accepted by Tsantsanoglou¹².

The first to point out the connection between the Latin life by John Hymmonides and BHG 721 was Hippolyte Delehaye¹³. In 1904 he published an article in which he assumed that Photius did not have a complete life of Gregory the Great at his disposal, but only extracts (ἐκλογαί). Delehaye described these extracts as «la traduction plus ou moins libre d'un certain nombre de passages de Jean Diacre, dont la Vie de S. Grégoire venait de paraître précisément alors»¹⁴. He pointed out the Roman origin of the short Greek life on the grounds of careful topographical information: according to Delehaye, some indications — the monastery of Saint Andrew the Apostle in *Clivus Scauri*, close to the

collaborazione con l'École Française de Rome, Roma, 9-12 maggio 1990], II, *Questioni letterarie e dottrinali*, Roma 1991, p. 41-57; E.V. MALTESE, *Appunti su Zaccaria traduttore di Gregorio Magno*, in *La traduzione dei testi religiosi* [Atti del convegno tenuto a Trento il 10-11 febbraio 1993], a cura di C. MORESCHINI e G. MENESTRINA, Brescia 1994, p. 243-252; ID., *Letteratura bizantina e identità greca. Un appunto sulle traduzioni a Bisanzio*, *Études Balkaniques* 6 (1999), p. 183-196.

⁹ F. HALKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 4).

¹⁰ Cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3^e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée par F. HALKIN, Bruxelles 1957, I, p. 234-235. This short Greek life was first edited by R. Abicht and H. Schmidt in *Quellennachweise zum Codex Suprasliensis*, *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 18 (1896), p. 152-155.

¹¹ E. DEKKERS, *Les traductions grecques des écrits patristiques latins*, *SEJC* 5 (1953), p. 214-216.

¹² K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Τὸ Λεξικὸ τοῦ Φωτίου, Χρονολόγηση-Χειρόγραφη παράδοση*, Thessalonike 1967, p. 11-35.

¹³ H. DELEHAYE, *S. Grégoire le grand dans l'hagiographie grecque*, *AB* 23 (1904), p. 449-454.

¹⁴ H. DELEHAYE, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 452.

Church of the Holy Martyrs John and Paul, and the house of Silvia, the mother of Gregory, in the neighbourhood of the church of Saint Paul in a place called *Cella Nova* — are derived from direct acquaintance with the places in question.

Halkin's chronology was afterwards accepted by Cyril Mango, who argued that it was «the only one that is supported by a solid argument»¹⁵. Further, Mango noted that several chapters in the *Bibliotheca* reflect pre-occupations that Photius could only have had after he became patriarch. Even if Photius went on a diplomatic mission at an unspecified date, on that occasion he only drafted a small collection of notes, which he later considerably enlarged. In other words, he seems to have worked on his *Bibliotheca* until the end of his life. The *Bibliotheca*, therefore, might have been published in his old age or even after his death.

The analysis of the same chapter and of the biographical tradition of Gregory led Bertrand Hemmerdinger to the opposite view¹⁶. According to this scholar, the source used by Photius was a lost Greek life of Gregory, probably written by the unknown author of the anonymous preface to the Greek translation of the Gregorian *Dialogues*¹⁷ by Zacharias, who was Pope in 741-752. In fact, Gregory the Great was famous in the East because of Zacharias' Greek translation of his *Dialogues*, from which he gained the nickname ὁ Διάλογος¹⁸. Hemmerdinger argued that this lost Greek Life should be considered the common source of the *Vita Gregorii* by John Hymmonides, of the short life published as BHG 721 and of *Bibliotheca* 252. At the request of John Hymmonides, this lost Greek Life would have been translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who had mastery of the two languages.

Other scholars have adduced further arguments in support of this view. Nogara¹⁹ has pointed to the fact that the two episodes recounted by

¹⁵ C. MANGO, *The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire A.D. 750-850*, in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington (D.C.) 1975, p. 40.

¹⁶ B. HEMMERDINGER, *Le «codex» 252 de la Bibliothèque de Photius*, *ByzZ* 58 (1965), p. 1-2.

¹⁷ The anonymous preface was edited by C. HANNICK, *Die griechische Überlieferung der Dialogi des Papstes Gregorius und ihre Verbreitung bei den Slaven im Mittelalter*, *Slovo* 24 (1974), p. 41-57.

¹⁸ According to Delehaye the nickname comes from an analogy with Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεόλογος, epithet of Gregory of Nazianzus. Cf. H. DELEHAYE, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 454, n. 2.

¹⁹ A. NOGARA, *Il cod. 252 della «Biblioteca» di Fozio*, *Aevum* 54 (1980), p. 280-282.

Photius are quite far removed from one another in the Latin *Vita Gregorii* (one is in the first book, chapter 10, and the other is in the second book, chapter 23) and that for this reason it seems unlikely that they would have been put together to form a short biography of the Pope. Treadgold²⁰ has observed that chapter 252 has no verbal parallels at all with the text which Halkin considers to be Photius' source (namely *BHG* 721); for instance, the remark at the end of the chapter, in which Photius includes a note about the Greek translation of the Gregorian *Dialogues* by Pope Zacharias, cannot be found in the text referred to by Halkin. On the other hand, this note has parallels in wording and content with the text of the anonymous preface appended to the Greek version of Gregorian *Dialogues* in the 8th century.

Jacques Schamp²¹ has argued that the anonymous Greek life was probably written by the author of the anonymous preface of the *Dialogues* as a supplement to the Greek translation.

2. I think that the question deserves reconsideration for two reasons. First, no scholar has attempted to provide a comprehensive comparison of the two episodes of the shipwrecked man in the *Vita Gregorii* by John Hymmonides, in the short Greek life of Gregory published as *BHG* 721 and in Photius' chapter 252. Second, it can be shown, by a closer look at the Greek and Latin biographical tradition on Gregory the Great, that John Hymmonides was the first to discuss the two episodes in question.

But first of all let us turn to a survey of the extant biographical tradition about Gregory the Great in chronological order. The oldest biographical Latin record is in the *Liber Pontificalis*, a collection of lives of the Popes in chronological sequence from Saint Peter until the end of the 15th century²². It provides some biographical details (such as the days of

²⁰ W.T. TREADGOLD, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 30-31.

²¹ J. SCHAMP, *Photios historien de lettres. La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques*, Paris 1987, p. 69-75. In a recent contribution the scholar claimed that the *Bibliotheca* was written before Photius became patriarch and he confirmed his opinion on the basis of the *Life of Isidore* by Damascius, summarized by Photius in chapter 242, cf. ID., «Vendez vos biens» (Luc. 12, 33): *remarques sur le Julien de Photios et la date de composition de la Bibliothèque*, in *Philomathestatos. Études de patristique grecque et textes byzantins offerts à Jacques Noret à l'occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans*, ed. by B. JANSSENS *et al.*, Leuven-Paris-Dudley (MA) 2004, p. 535-554.

²² The available edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* is the one by Duchesne (*Le Liber Pontificalis*, texte, introduction et commentaire par l'abbé L. DUCHESNE, I, Paris 1981 [1886]). On this work, see O. BERTOLINI, *Il «Liber Pontificalis»*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XVII, *La storiografia Altomedievale* (10-16 aprile

birth and death of Gregory, his political, literary and liturgical activity, his pontificate and the feast-day), but one does not find any trace of the two episodes²³. Contemporary with the pontificate of Gregory the Great is the biographical tale of Gregory of Tours²⁴, which begins with the news of the flooding of the Tiber in 589 and continues with the pontificate and the foundation of six monasteries in Sicily and one in Rome. The brief biographical picture provided by Gregory of Tours concentrates on the Pope's habits, with special attention paid to his humility and charity to the poor, but the story of the shipwrecked man/angel is not included.

As for the Greek tradition, John Moschus was the first, between the 6th and 7th centuries, to deal with Gregory the Great, in two chapters of his *Pratum spirituale*²⁵. But the matter discussed by Moschus is likewise irrelevant to our present purpose²⁶. The same goes for later biographical sketches, in which Gregory is celebrated as an apostle to the Anglo-Saxon world, such as the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* by the Venerable Bede²⁷ and the Anonymous of Whitby²⁸.

1969), Spoleto 1970, p. 387-455; *The Book of Pontiffs: the Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, ed. revised by D. RAYMOND, Liverpool 2000².

²³ Cf. L. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 312-314.

²⁴ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, I 1, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri Historiarum X*, editionem alteram curaverunt B. KRUSCH et W. LIEVISON, Hannover 1951, p. 477-479.

²⁵ On Moschus and his work, see H. CHADWICK, *John Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist*, *JThS* N.S. 25 (1974), p. 41-74; R. AUBERT, s.v. *Jean Moschos*, *DHGE*, 2000, fasc. 156-157, col. 321; *Giovanni Mosco. Il prato*, presentazione, traduzione e commento di R. MAISANO, seconda edizione corretta con l'aggiunta di una Appendice, Napoli 2002.

²⁶ Moschus tells of Gregory the Great in chapters 151 and 192. The first episode focuses on the charity and the humility of Gregory during his stay in Constantinople as *apocrisarius* (*PG* 87, 3015-3017) and this tale is present in chapter IV, 63 of the *Vita Gregorii* also (*PL* 75, 213); the other one (*PG* 87, 3072) is dedicated to the famous episode of the monk Justus, who was excommunicated by Gregory, but eventually he became a martyr *post mortem*. Moreover, Gregory the Great told this event in *Dialogi* IV, 55 and John Hymmonides in *Vita Gregorii* II, 45 (*PL* 75, 106).

²⁷ Cf. chapters I 23, 27, 28 and II 1. See F.J.E. RABY, s.v. *Bède le Vénérable*, *DHGE*, VII, 1934, coll. 395-402; C. LEONARDI, *Il Venerabile Beda e la cultura del secolo VIII*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XX, *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII* [6-12 aprile 1972], Spoleto 1973, p. 603-658; *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, by L.A.J.R. HOWEN and A.A. MACDONALD, Groningen 1996. The modern edition of *Historia Ecclesiastica* is by B. COLGRAVE – R.A.B. MYNORS, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford 1969.

²⁸ This biography was written by an anonymous monk from the monastery of Whitby at the beginning of 8th century and is transmitted in only one manuscript of the 9th century, now in the abbey of St. Gallen (Sang. 567). On the "monk of Whitby" and on his work, see B. COLGRAVE, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk*

In the second half of the 8th century Paul the Deacon, a monk from the monastery of Montecassino, wrote the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*²⁹, the main aim of which was to depict Gregory the Great as a learned man. Paul the Deacon drew on the works of Bede and Gregory of Tours, but he also used the works of Gregory the Great, especially the *Letters*, *Regula Pastoralis*, *Moralia* and *Dialogi*. He gives information about Gregory's birth, the foundation of monasteries, his previous monastic life and his pontificate, the mission as *apocrisarius* to Constantinople, the relations with the Longobard people, the evangelisation in Great Britain and miracles, but no references can be found to the episodes recounted by Photius.

The Latin biographical tradition on Gregory the Great further includes a monumental *Life* written between 873 and 876 by John Hymmonides, known as John, the Deacon of Rome, in four books³⁰. The author lived during the pontificates of Nicolaus I (858-867), Adrianus II (867-872) and John VIII (872-882). Before writing the *Vita Gregorii*, John Hymmonides engaged himself in a detailed history of the church which was meant to continue the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus, but this project

of Whitby, Lawrence 1968; on the manuscript tradition of this work, see O. LIMONE, *La vita di Gregorio Magno dell'Anonimo di Whitby*, *StudMed* ser. 3, 19, 1 (1978), p. 37-67. The connections between the *Life* of Whitby and the tale of Bede are analyzed in A. THACKER, *Memorializing Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries*, *EME* 7 (1998), p. 59-84; S. BOESCH GAJANO, *La memoria della santità: Gregorio Magno autore e oggetto di scritture agiografiche*, in *Gregorio Magno nel XIV centenario della morte: convegno internazionale* [Roma, 22-25 ottobre 2003], Roma 2004, p. 321-348.

²⁹ On the text tradition, see O. LIMONE, *La tradizione manoscritta della «Vita Gregorii» di Paolo Diacono (B.H.L. 3639)*, *Censimento dei testimoni*, *StudMed* ser. 3, 29, 2 (1988), p. 887-953; L. CASTALDI, *Nuovi testimoni della Vita Gregorii di Paolo Diacono (BHL 3639)*, in *Paolo Diacono. Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio* [Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi, Cividale del Friuli-Udine, 6-9 maggio 1999], a cura di P. CHIESA, Udine 2000, p. 75-126. Recently a new critical edition of the *Vita* has been published by S. TUZZO, *Paolo Diacono, Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, Pisa 2002. Between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries an anonymous Latin life of Gregory was composed on the basis of the *Vita Gregorii* by Paul the Deacon (PL 75, 241-462); the anonymous writer describes Gregory as a thaumaturge and there are many miraculous tales. For these reasons it is not a historical biography.

³⁰ The only available edition of the *Vita Gregorii* can be found in PL 75, 59-242. A good beginning for a new critical edition is the recent contribution by L. CASTALDI, *Iohannes Hymmonides diaconus Romanus. Vita Gregorii I papae (B.H.L. 3641-3642)*, I, *La tradizione manoscritta*, Firenze 2004.

was never carried out. For this plan Anastasius Bibliothecarius³¹ may have translated some Greek texts into Latin. The *Vita Gregorii* was commissioned from John Hymmonides for two reasons. The first was liturgical, because a biography of the saint was required reading on his feast-day. In second place, it served hagiographical purposes. In a difficult period of decadence and crisis of papal authority, because of the doctrinal conflict with the Eastern Church³², the work claimed the greatness of Rome. In the preface, John Hymmonides explains the reasons why he undertook the writing of this book:

Nuper ad vigiliis beati Gregorii, Romani pontificis, Anglorum gentis apostoli, lectione de Paulino civitatis Nolanae praesule consuetudinaliter personante, visus es a venerabilibus episcopis, divino quodam instinctu commotus, requirere cur tantus pontifex, qui multorum sanctorum Vitas texuerat, gestis propriis in propria duntaxat Ecclesia caruisset; praesertim cum et apud Saxones, et apud Langobardorum sibi prorsus infensissimam gentem, gestis propriis ubique polleret. Cumque venerabiles episcopi has ab utrisque gentibus haberi quidem, sed compendiosissime, responderent; meam quoque parvitatem consciscens, praeceperas ut Vitam ipsius de scrinio sanctae sedis apostolicae, tanto plenius, quanto et certius carpere studuissem (*PL* 75, 61).

The *Vita* of John Hymmonides is different from the extant biographical sketches of Gregory the Great. Using and quoting a wide

³¹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius lived and worked during the pontificates of Nicolaus I (858-867) and John VIII (872-882) and particularly in this last period he collaborated with John Hymmonides. On him and his work as translator, see C. LEONARDI, *Anastasio Bibliotecario e le traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale*, in M.W. HERREN, in collaboration with S.A. BROWN, *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, London 1988, p. 277-296 [= C. LEONARDI, *Le traduzioni dal greco: Roma e Anastasio il Bibliotecario*, in *Medioevo latino. La cultura dell'Europa cristiana*, Firenze 2004, p. 321-333]; G. ARNALDI, s.v. *Anastasio Bibliotecario*, *antipapa*, in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, I, Roma 2000, p. 735-746.

³² Cf. G. ARNALDI, *Giovanni Immonide e la cultura a Roma al tempo di Giovanni VIII*, *BISI* 68 (1956), p. 33-89; C. LEONARDI, *La «Vita Gregorii» di Giovanni Diacono. Schede per un seminario*, in *Roma e l'età carolingia* [Atti delle giornate di studio, 3-8 maggio 1976], Roma 1976, p. 381-393; W. BERSCHIN, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, III, *Karolingische Biographie, 750-920 n.Chr.*, Stuttgart 1991, p. 372-387; G. ARNALDI, 'Giovanni Immonide e la cultura a Roma al tempo di Giovanni VIII': una retractatio, in *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati* [Tavola rotonda del XVIII Congresso del CISH, Montréal, 29 agosto 1995], a cura di G. ARNALDI e G. CAVALLO, Roma 1997, p. 163-177; F. BERTINI, *Giovanni Immonide e la cultura a Roma nel secolo IX*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XLVIII, *Roma nell'alto Medioevo* [27 aprile-1 maggio 2000], II, Spoleto 2001, p. 897-919.

range of sources, the author's objective was to reconstruct the historical character of Gregory and to recall his important reforms and his ecclesiastical and civil activities. He relied on the pontifical archives (*scrinium lateranense*) along with the letters of the Pope and his most important literary works, and combined this material with the older biographical works. The work is divided into four books, and narrates the events in chronological and topical order: in the first book, John Hymmonides gives an account of the life of Gregory up to the time of his pontificate; in the second, he deals with his activities as Pope; the third is concerned with his teachings; the fourth with his morality and spirituality. On closer inspection, one can see that a number of episodes can be traced back to the works of Whitby, Bede and Paul the Deacon. This is, for instance, the case with John Hymmonides' treatment in *Vita Gregorii* I 1, which has clear parallels in the first chapter of the *Vita* by Paul the Deacon, Bede II 1, *Liber Pontificalis* (I, p. 312-314), the Anonymous of Whitby I, *Homiliae in Evangelia* XXXVIII 15 and *Dialogi* IV 17³³. On the other hand, as already noted, the two episodes recounted in chapters I 10 and II 23 do not appear in other biographical texts and seem to be unique to John Hymmonides.

3. The story of the shipwrecked man who turns out to be an angel, which John Hymmonides selected for his *Vita Gregorii*, reappears in the anonymous Greek life (*BHG* 721) and in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 252. The three versions show evident parallels of content and even wording. I have attempted to collect these parallels in the following synopsis³⁴:

³³ Other instances: *Vita Gregorii* I, 6 (on Gregory's monastic foundation) takes information from Paul the Deacon *Vita* 4-5 and Gregory of Tours; chapter I 8 (on the episode of Eleutherius, bishop of Spoleto) comes from *Dialogi* III 33. The sources of *Vita Gregorii* have been pointed out by L. CASTALDI, *Studio sulla tradizione manoscritta della Vita Gregorii di Giovanni Immonide (libri I-III)*, tesi di Dottorato in Filologia Mediolatina, IX ciclo, 1997, p. 23 ff. (copy consulted at Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, identification No. TDR 1997 01989).

³⁴ As far as the anonymous life is concerned, I have reproduced the text of the edition of 1896 based on a unique manuscript of the 11th century, Parisinus Gr. 1604 (see n. 10), but in the course of my research I have found 17 manuscripts transmitting this text, which date from the 10th to the 16th centuries. I am working on this text for a forthcoming publication.

John Hymmonides, <i>Vita Gregorii</i> (PL 75, 65-66, 96)	Anonymous Greek life	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> 252
<p>sub honore sancti <u>Andreae apostoli</u>, juxta basilicam sanctorum Joannis et Pauli ad <u>clivum Scauri</u>, monasterium [...] diuque desideratum <u>monachicum</u> capiens indumentum [...] praeesse non renuit [...] a matre <u>Silvia</u>, tunc temporis <u>juxta portam beati Pauli apostoli</u>, loco <u>qui dicitur Cella nova</u></p>	<p><u>μοναχὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, τῇ ἐπονομαζομένῃ Κλειοσκαύρῃ, πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰωάννου καὶ Παύλου [...]</u> Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μακαρία <u>Σιλβία</u>, ἔμεινε <u>τηνικαῦτα πλησίον τῆς πόρτης τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, εἰς τόπον ἐπιχωρίως ὀνομαζόμενον Κελλανόβα</u></p>	<p><u>μονάζει δ' ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἥ ἐπώνυμον Κλειοσκαύριν</u> Οὗτος ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος μητρός μὲν προήλθεν ὄνομα <u>Σιλβίας</u></p>
<p>Ubi hunc de more quaedam scribentem angelus Dei reperiens, misereri sibi flebiliter sub habitu <u>naufragi</u> postulabat. Cui Gregorius ex intimo corde compatiens, <u>bis ternis numismatibus</u> datis, abire praecepit</p>	<p>Ὅθεν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, [...] ἐκαλλιγράφει, ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πτωχὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων [...] ὅτι <u>ναύκληρος</u> ἦμην καὶ ἐναυάγησα καὶ ἀπέλεκα [...] ἄδελφε, ἄπελθε, δὸς αὐτῷ <u>ἐξ νομίσματα</u></p>	<p>Ἦκέ τις αἰτῶν ποτέ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ αἰτεῖν ἀνάγκην εἰς <u>ναυάγιον</u> ἀνήπτεν· ὁ δὲ προθύμως δίδωσι χρυσοῦ <u>νομίσματα</u> <u>ἐξ</u></p>
<p>praeter matris <u>argenteam</u>, quae cum infusis leguminibus mitti solita erat, <u>scutellam</u></p>	<p><u>τὸ ἀργύρεον σκουτέλιον</u>, ὅπερ ἀπέστειλεν ἡ κυρία ἡ μεγάλη κατὰ τὸ ἔθος μετ' ὀλίγων βρεκτῶν</p>	<p><u>ἐξ ἀργύρου πινακίσκος</u>, ἐν ᾧ ἡ μήτηρ εἰώθει ὀσπρίων τινὰ διάβροχα πέμπειν τῷ παιδί</p>
<p><u>Alio quoque tempore idem</u> Gregorius, juxta consuetudinem suam, praecepit <u>sacellario ut duodecim peregrinos ad prandium invitaret</u></p>	<p><u>Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα</u>, ὅτε ἐγένετο πατριάρχης ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, <u>κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν πατριαρχῶν</u></p>	<p><u>Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τότε</u>. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον κρίσει μὲν θεία ψήφῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ταγμάτων τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν λαχὼν ἰθύνειν</p>

John Hymmonides, <i>Vita Gregorii</i> (PL 75, 65-66, 96)	Anonymous Greek life	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> 252
	ἐπέτρεψε τῷ σακελλαρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ καλέσαι εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ δώδεκα ὀνόματα πτωχούς, ὀφείλοντας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀριστῆσαι	θρόνον, δώδεκά τινας τῶν πενήτων, ὡς ἔθος πράττειν τοῖς πατριάρχαις, συνεστιαθῆναι κελεύει, καὶ συγκαλέσασθαι τούτους τὸν οἰκεῖον σακελλάριον ἐπιτρέπει
<u>ecce enim misit me Dominus,</u> <u>ut sim tibi custos, quandiu</u> <u>fuero in isto mortali saeculo</u>	Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπέσταλκέ με κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ εἶναι μετὰ σου, ἕως οὗ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ εἶ	ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν κρίσιν ἄνωθεν λαβεῖν σοὶ συμπαρεῖναι φύλακά τε τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ὁδηγὸν τῶν πρακτέων, ἄγγελον δὲ τὴν φύσιν Θεοῦ χρηματίζειν
Illico Gregorius in faciem suam corruit	ἀκούσας ταῦτα [...] <u>ἔπεσεν</u> ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ <u>προσεκύνησε</u> τῷ κυρίῳ	Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἀκούσας <u>ταῦτα, πεσὼν</u> <u>προσεκύνησε</u> καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἠὺχαρίστησεν

The striking similarities in the three texts are evidence of strong interdependence. The work of John Hymmonides was completed in 876 and had immediate circulation in the most important monastic centres, as one can gather from the text tradition³⁵. Widely read texts were likely to be adapted, reduced or excerpted. The view of Halkin that sections I 10 and II 23 were 'cut' from the *Vita Gregorii* and 'pasted' together in the short anonymous *bios* (BHG 721) therefore looks plausible, also on account of the resemblance in wording and content. The short Greek life of Gregory the Great could be a product of the activity of translation occurring in

³⁵ The data collected by Lucia Castaldi (see n. 30) show that the *Vita Gregorii* met with success: we know at least six manuscripts dated to the 9th century, so they are contemporary with the author, and there are also many manuscripts of the 10th century.

Rome and the south of Italy in the middle of 9th century. Thanks to Anastasius Bibliothecarius and especially to the Greek bilingual monks, a great number of hagiographical Latin works were selected, translated into Greek and sent to the East, the object being to introduce edifying tales of Western saints, Western traditions and virtues to the Eastern brothers³⁶. We can suppose that Greek monks from the Gregorian monastery of S. Andrew the Apostle who knew both Latin and Greek³⁷ wrote the short Greek life of Gregory the Great (who was already known in the East thanks to the Greek translation of his *Dialogues*) and sent it to Constantinople where Photius read it. The success of this life is evident from the fact that it was also introduced into the Greek hagiographical collections³⁸.

³⁶ Cf. E. FOLLIERI, *I rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel campo dell'agiografia*, in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* [Oxford 5-10 September 1966], ed. by J.M. HUSSEY, D. OBOLENSKY, S. RUNCIMAN, London 1967, p. 355-362; D. BIANCONI, *Le traduzioni in greco di testi latini*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, III, *Le culture circostanti*, I, *La cultura bizantina*, a cura di G. CAVALLO, Roma 2004, p. 519-568.

³⁷ The presence of Greek bilingual monastic settlements in Italy and also in the Gregorian community is well-documented in the 9th century. Cf. A. PERTUSI, *Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in Occidente nell'alto medioevo*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XI, *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'alto medioevo* [18-23 aprile 1963], Spoleto 1964, p. 75-133; C. MANGO, *La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XX, *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII* [6-12 aprile 1972], II, Spoleto 1973, p. 683-721; J.M. SANSTERRE, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s.)*, I-II, Bruxelles 1983; A.M. GIUNTELLA, *Gli spazi dell'assistenza e della meditazione*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XLVIII, *Roma nell'alto Medioevo* [27 aprile-1 maggio 2000], II, Spoleto 2001, p. 639-691; F. BURGARELLA, *Presenze greche a Roma: aspetti culturali e religiosi*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XLIX, *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* [19-24 aprile 2001], II, Spoleto 2002, p. 943-992. A list of Greek monasteries can be found in G. FERRARI, *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, Città del Vaticano 1957, p. 138-151.

³⁸ As Enrica Follieri has noted, the *bios* of Saint Gregory was introduced rather late, «alla fine del secolo IX, sulla base di due episodi estratti dalla vita latina di Gregorio scritta, fra l'873 e l'876, da Giovanni Diacono. Questi episodi, tradotti in greco a Roma, giunsero subito a Costantinopoli, perché Fozio, morto nell'891 circa, li conobbe: e fecero in tempo ad entrare nelle collezioni agiografiche bizantine e ad essere riassunti nei sinassari. Ma ormai si era in epoca troppo avanzata perché di s. Gregorio Magno potessero occuparsi gli innografi di Bisanzio, ed egli non sarà cantato con inni greci se non molto più tardi, nel secolo XI e in ambiente italo-greco, da Stefano e forse da Bartolomeo di Grottaferata». Cf. E. FOLLIERI, *Il culto dei santi nell'Italia greca*, in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo* [Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale, Bari 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969], Padova 1972-1973, p. 569. According to Follieri, an additional argument for placing the composition of this short Greek life in the 9th century is the celebration of Gregory in the Greek hymnography. Among the hymns ascribed to Stephanus the

The *bios* of Saint Gregory was in fact summarized in the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople, the sacred book of the Greek church, in which the saint is celebrated on March 12, and in the *menologia*³⁹. While it is true that the two episodes are quite removed from one another in the Latin work, it should at the same time be noted that an obvious reason for linking them is the presence of the same protagonist⁴⁰.

If chapter 252 depends on a short Greek life of Gregory the Great, based on the *Vita Gregorii* of John Hymmonides, completed in 876, Photius could not have read this text before that year and so it is impossible to accept an earlier date for the composition of this chapter. This consideration supports the idea that Photius' *Bibliotheca* represents a lifetime of study. As has been demonstrated on the basis of the IXth canon of the 8th Ecumenical Council⁴¹, Photius carried on the activity of the

Italo-Greek Giuseppe Schirò includes a canon dedicated to Gregory the Great 'Dialogus', which features the two episodes described in the anonymous Greek *bios* and reemployed by Photius, see G. SCHIRÒ, *Stefano italo-greco*, *BBGG* N.S. 1 (1947), p. 39-50, 65-81, 155-161, 210-213; ID., *Stefano italo-greco*, *BBGG* N.S. 2 (1948), p. 3-11. The attribution of the canon to Stephanus is doubted by Germano Giovanelli, according to whom that canon is rather a *contacium* of Bartolomeo of Grottaferrata. Cf. G. GIOVANELLI, *Catalogo completo dei canonici e contaci e di altri inni sacri composti da S. Bartolomeo*, *BBGG* N.S. 6 (1952), p. 55-58. On the Byzantine hymnography cf. F. D'AIUTO, *L'innografia*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, III, *Le culture circostanti*, I, *La cultura bizantina*, a cura di G. CAVALLO, Roma 2004, p. 257-300.

³⁹ Cf. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis Synaxariis selectis*, opera et studio H. DELEHAYE, Bruxellis 1902, coll. 531-532; B. LATYŠEV, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, I, Saint-Petersburg 1911, p. I-VIII, 233-236). In these texts the two episodes are supplemented with information about Gregory's career, his pontificate, his conversion of the Saxons and his death. See H. DELEHAYE, *Le synaxaire de Sirmond*, *AB* 14 (1895), p. 396-434; ID., *Le ménologes grecs*, *AB* 16 (1897), p. 311-329; J. NORET, *Ménologes, Synaxaires, Ménéés. Essai de clarification d'une terminologie*, *AB* 86 (1968), p. 21-24; A. LUZZI, *Studi sul sinassario di Costantinopoli*, Roma 1995; ID., *Precisazioni sull'epoca di formazione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli*, *RSBN* N.S. 36 (1999), p. 75-91; F. D'AIUTO, *Note ai manoscritti del menologio imperiale*, *RSBN* N.S. 39 (2002), p. 189-228.

⁴⁰ In this regard, Claudio Leonardi has appositely noted that «il naufrago (= angelo), benificato da Gregorio quando era abate [protagonista dell'episodio del capitolo I, 10], e che aveva segnato la pienezza della vita monastica (= mistica), ora ricompare nelle vesti di pellegrino [nel capitolo II, 23]. [...] Se il naufrago indicava il compiersi di un movimento di ascesa di Gregorio in Dio, il pellegrino indica il compiersi di un movimento di espansione di Dio verso Gregorio e tutta l'umanità», cf. C. LEONARDI, *Epitomi biografiche: Gregorio Magno*, in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz*, Madrid 1983, p. 149. Several manuscripts attest to the presence of biographical epitomes from the four books of the *Vita Gregorii*, in which the chapters I 10 and II 23 are always combined; cf. L. CASTALDI, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 398-405.

⁴¹ L. CANFORA, *Il "reading circle" intorno a Fozio*, *Byzantion* 68 (1998), p. 222-223; ID., *Le "cercle des lecteurs" autour de Photius*, *REByz* 56 (1998), p. 269-273.

reading circle and study when he became Patriarch, so until his second patriarchate (877-886). The *Bibliotheca* should be considered the product of the Photian reading circle and, it being a work in progress, its lack of systematic organization, a clear scheme of composition or a coherent plan should come as no surprise. In the case of the extensive chapters with a detailed summary of the original work accompanied by literal extracts, for example, it seems that Photius did not have at hand the original books, but abstracts and this means that he was working through *σχεδάρια*, in the time after his books had been confiscated and destroyed⁴². Mango and Markopoulos have already noted that a later chronology for parts of the *Bibliotheca* is supported by information coming from other Photian works⁴³. The study of the *Letters*, *Homilies* and other texts written by the Byzantine patriarch, will probably cast new light on the problem of the composition of the *Bibliotheca*.

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⁴² Cf. the Photian *Letters* 86, 98 (Westerink-Laourdas) and *Amphilochia* 148 (= V, p. 166 Westerink). See L. CANFORA, *Il rogo dei libri di Fozio*, in *Fozio. Tra crisi ecclesiale e magistero letterario*, a cura di G. MENESTRINA, Brescia 2000, p. 17-28.

⁴³ Cf. C. MANGO, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 37-43 and A. MARKOPOULOS, *New Evidence on the Date of Photios' Bibliotheca*, in *History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th-10th Centuries*, Aldershot 2004, p. 1-18, where attention is drawn to the correspondence between some chapters of *Bibliotheca* and Photian *Letters*.